THE CIVILIZATION OF ANCIENT INDIA

LOUIS RENOU

THE CIVILIZATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

THE CIVILIZATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY

LOUIS RENOU

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY

PHILIP SPRATT

SUSIL GUPTA (INDIA) LTD
CALCUTTA-12

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

I

HISTORY

If we leave aside the prehistoric civilisation called the Indus civilisation (discovered in 1921 at the sites at Harappa and Mohenjo Daro), which flourished in the latter half of the third millennium and seems, despite religious features of an Indian appearance, to have been of foreign origin, the earliest historical outlines are those provided by the Vedic texts.

THE VEDIC AGE—THE ARYAN SETTLEMENT

In these texts we read of the struggle undertaken by the Aryan invaders (who broke away from the Indo-Aryan community, in eastern Iran, probably at the beginning of the second millennium) to open a way through the passes which lead from Kabul and Kandahar to the upper and middle Indus; their efforts to maintain themselves in the rich plains of the Land of the Seven Rivers; the incessant warfare between the Aryan and non-Aryan tribes (the latter called Dasa or Dasyu); and the rivalries among the Aryan clans; and finally their steady expansion towards the east, as far as the head of the Ganges delta, and to the south, along the coasts which flank the central plateau. These events occupy the centuries of the growth of the Vedic literature. We read there of the different tribes who, one after another, achieve supremacy: the "five tribes" of the Rigveda, the Bharatas and their descendants the Kuru-Panchalas, who later make Kurukshetra (Rohilkhand) the centre of the Brahmanic culture, and lastly the clans of the Videhas (in north Bihar), whose power comes to an end only shortly before the rise of Buddhism.

KINGDOM OF MAGADHA

The Buddhist texts mark a new shift of the centre of gravity towards the east, with the establishment of the kingdom of Magadha (south Bihar). Two of its rulers, Bimbisara and his son Ajatashatru, are contemporaries of the Buddha (whose *nirvana* took place, according to the Sinhalese tradition, in 543 B.C.; more probably in 478) and also of Mahavira (*nirvana* in 468 B.C.). On the death of Ajatashatru the dynasty relapses into obscurity. That of the Nandas—who will continue to typify fabulous wealth—takes its place, soon to be

overthrown in its turn by a hardy adventurer, Chandragupta, the Sandrakottos of the Greeks, who towards 320 B.C. founded the first great Indian empire, that of the Mauryas.

THE PERSIAN AND MACEDONIAN INVASIONS

Meanwhile events which were to prove decisive for the later history of India took place on the north-west borders, in that sensitive zone where invading forces have so often entered the country. Taking up again the plans of eastward expansion initiated by Cyrus, Darius (521—485) B.C. established the satrapies of Kandahar, of Kabul, and—the twentieth, and the wealthiest of his empire—of the Indus. It is he who imposed the Aramaic script in his chancellary, and he who opened the way, on the material and spiritual planes, for that contact between Greeks and Indians which was, for the latter at least, of such great consequence. Towards 450 B.C. Herodotos, in the course of his travels in Persia, collected the first exact information about India, though a little later, towards 415 B.C., Ctesias of Cnidos, Artaxerxes' physician, started with his *Indika* the tradition of the India of marvels. During the 4th century B.C. the Achaemenian domination was in a state of decline, when suddenly Alexander of Macedon claimed its heritage. He crossed the Hindukush in 327 B.C., the Indus in 326 B.C., defeated the Paurava (the Poros of the Greeks) on the Hydaspes (the Vitasta or Jhelum), and advanced across the eastern Panjab in the direction of the Ganges. The revolt of his troops compelled him to retire. He made his return journey through the territory of the confederated republics of the southern Panjab and Sindh, setting up vassal kingdoms, and installing Macedonian garrisons in the towns which he ordered to be created.

THE MAURYAS

It was Chandragupta who put an end to Greek rule, at least on the left bank of the Indus. At the same time, helped (as the Indian tradition tells the story) by his minister Chanakya (alias Kautilya), he overthrew the last of the Nandas and seized the throne at Pataliputra (Patna), consolidating his power over the whole of northern India. At his court appears a Greek ambassador, Megasthenes, sent by Seleukos Nikator: it is the report on India which he sent, the text of which is lost, which inspired most of the Greek and Latin writers. Under Bindusara, son and successor of Chandragupta, Egypt and Syria sent representatives. But it is with his grandson Asoka, the Devanampiya Piyadasi of the inscriptions (probably

260-227 B.C.), that the Mauryan empire attained its greatest height. Asoka conquered Kalinga (Orissa) in a sanguinary war, and extended his power over a territory which finally included the whole of India, except the extreme South, and a part of Afghanistan. It is not these conquests, however, which have made his name illustrious. Converted to Buddhism, he set out to propagate it: he sent missionaries abroad, and during the latter part of his reign made his administration a model of tolerance, wisdom and understanding, which distinguishes him as the most notable moral personality in the history of India. The monumental inscriptions which he set up on the boundaries of his empire testify to his zeal; the pillars on which these edicts are sometimes engraved (as at Sarnath) are among the earliest works of art still preserved.

THE SUCCESSORS OF THE IMPERIAL MAURYAS

The later history of the Mauryas is confused; the empire was partially dismembered. At the centre there arose, towards 180 B.C., the power of the Sungas, with Pushyamitra, and then that of the Kanvas. But this time the most vigorous attack came from the South; the Satavahana or Satakarni arose through obscure vicissitudes to establish the Andhra power, which lasted for four centuries. For a time, about 150 B.C., Kharavela maintained in Kalinga a strong principality. At the southern extremity of the peninsula were the Pandyas of Madura, one of whom, about 20 B.C., sent an ambassador to the emperor Augustus. A little later the Abhiras established themselves at Nasik, and the Vakatakas in Berar.

INVASION OF SYRIAN AND BACTRIAN GREEKS—INDO-GREEKS

Meanwhile a weakened India was more concerned with the invasion of the Syrian and Bacterian Greeks. They advanced as far as the Doab, and besieged Ayodhya. Several of these Greek monarchs became Indianised: Menander, the Milinda of the Buddhist texts, was a sympathiser of Buddhism; Heliodorus, the ambassador of Antialkidas to a king of Avanti, declared himself a devotee of Vishnu.

This is also the period of the first great monuments, the bas-reliefs on the stupas of Bharhut, and above all of Sanchi (2nd century B.C. to 1st century A.D.), and the sculptures of Bodh-Gaya.

THE SAKA AND PARTHIANS

These "Indo-Greek" monarchies themselves soon gave way before an invasion from Central Asia. The Saka, Persian-

ised Scythians, who had for a long time been established in Sakasthana (Seistan), and the Pahlava or Parthians, descended in their turn on to the plains of the Indus, notably under Gondophares or Gondophernes (first half of the 1st century A.D.), who is associated by tradition with the Apostle Thomas. Some of the Saka advanced as far as Malwa and the approaches to the Deccan, bringing about a revival of the old title of satrap (kshatrapa), and propagating for worldly purposes the old Sanskritic culture. The best known of their chiefs is Rudradaman (130-150 A.D.), who allied himself by marriage with the Satavahanas; their power survived up to the Gupta period.

THE KUSHAN EMPIRE

The rule of the Sakas and Pahlavas was destroyed in its turn by the Yue-chi, a Central Asian people of which one of the clans, led by Kujula Kadphises, established the empire of the Kushana, the Turuska of literary tradition, about the middle of the first century of our era. In India proper, its frontiers reached as far as the cities of Ayodhya, Benares and Pataliputra. Treating on terms of equality with Rome and with the Han dynasty of China, the Kushan power consolidated itself under Wima Kadphises (Kadphises II), and above all under Kanishka (I), who, coming to the throne apparently about 144 A.D.—the date was for a long time disputed—fixed his capital at Purushapura (Peshawar). Kanishka is celebrated especially for having patronised Buddhism and, according to tradition, for having convened an important Buddhist council. He sent envoys to Central Asia and China.

New trade routes, by sea and by land, were being opened up from the beginning of the Christian era, to the profit of the Indian ports and markets. The discovery by the Greeks, about 50 A.D., of the laws of the monsoon transformed coasting into free navigation, allowing of direct sailing between Arabia and Malabar, and between the Coromandel Coast and the whole of South-East Asia. From this time begins the eastward expansion of the Indian culture, whose splendour is shown by the monuments of Ankor, of Siam and of Java. In India itself we have the art of Mathura in the north, the beginnings of Amaravati in the south, and the caves of Nasik, Karle and Kanheri in the coastal regions of the west. But the most characteristic art is the Greco-Buddhistic statuary of Gandhara, which rises towards the beginning of our era and reaches its culmination under Kanishka: a striking adaptation

to the Indian genius of forms borrowed from Greco-Roman art.

The death of Vasudeva (I), which certainly took place about 230 A.D., marks the end of the second Kushan dynasty. The attacks of the Sassanids had already reduced its power in the west, while in India some of its territory had been taken by the Nagas, and later by the Guptas. A third and a fourth dynasty (the later called the Kidarites) maintained themselves in North India up to the 3rd century and later still in the region of Kabul.

THE GUPTAS

From 318 A.D. a great dynasty, this time an indigenous one, the Gupta, established itself in the region of Pataliputra. It assumed importance first with Chandragupta (I), who contracted a matrimonial alliance with the powerful clan of the Lichchhavi. His successor Samudragupta is the greatest of the line: he reigned up to 380 A.D., and subdued almost the whole of India, either by direct annexation of principalities, or by maintaining vassal states. The *Kidarites,* the Saka family, and the autonomous clans of Ceylon did him homage. His reign and those of his immediate successors saw the golden age of Indian civilisation. The classical works of literary Brahmanism, and the flowering of sculpture of Hindu or Buddhist inspiration (Amaravati, the Buddhas, the Delhi pillar) belong to this period. Gupta art served as the norm for the whole development which followed, right up to the 9th century. Meanwhile Buddhism lost its vigour, and falling to a subordinate position, was progressively absorbed into Hinduism.

Chandragupta II, surnamed Vikramaditya (380—413 A.D.), extended his domain still further, by wars and alliances. He put an end to the last remnants of the Saka power in Malwa and Kathiawar (388 A.D.). His name has been idealised in legends by the memory of a magnificent court and the "nine jewels" which adorned it, among whom the poet Kalidasa is included. In his reign the Chinese monk Fa-hian, who travelled through India from Gandhara in the north to Tamralipti (Tamluk) before proceeding to Ceylon, testifies to the power and wealth of the kingdom.

After Kumaragupta (I) (415-455 A.D.), and Skandagupta (456—467 A.D.), the dynasty suddenly declined, to survive obscurely in Bengal up to the middle of the 6th century. Literature and art preserved their perfection of form: the 6th century is the period of the Ajanta frescoes.

THE HUNS

As has happened so often, it was from Central Asia that there came the blow which put an end to Gupta rule. The Chionites, a dynasty of the Hephtalites—whom Indian tradition calls the Huna—established in Bactriana, then entered the Panjab. At first repulsed by Skandagupta, they became more menacing at the end of the 5th century under Toramana and especially (515-544 A.D.) Mihirakula, who thrust forward as far as Eran, in eastern Malwa. The king of Dashapura (Mandasor), Yashodharman, at last stopped them, but not before they had ravaged the Buddhist communities and disintegrated the Gupta Empire into a debris of states which in their turn quickly disappeared.

MAUKHARIS AND VALABHI

In the 6th century the predominant powers were the Maukhari in Magadha and Oudh (dynasty with names ending in -varman), and the kings of Valabhi in Kathiawar, heirs of the Sakas.

HARSHA

Harsha (vardhana) Siladitya succeeded in establishing at Kanyakubja (Kanauj), from 607 to 648 A.D., a stable empire, the last in pre-Muslim India, and as a result of successful campaigns won recognition from the princes of northern India. A protector of religion and of letters, himself a poet, his prosperous reign is described to us in detail by the Chinese pilgrim Huian-tsang, who was his guest for a long time.

NORTHERN STATES AFTER HARSHA

On the death of Harsha disintegration proceeded still further. From the beginning of the 7th century Kashmir stands out as a powerful state, and at the beginning of the 8th sentury extended its power to the Doab. The Gauda Kings of Bengal ruled over Magadha for some time, finally giving way, towards the end of the 8th century, to the long line of the Pala. The Palas several times extended their power beyond the boundaries of the province, and were succeeded for a short period by the Sena (11th century). In Malwa there ruled the Paramara, whose greatest days were the reign of Bhoja of Dhara (11th century), while at Kanauj itself the Pratihara, established from 836 A.D., at one time, under another Bhoja (end of the 9th century) conquered the greater part of Hindustan proper.

DECCAN STATES

Disintegration was not less pronounced in the Deccan, where the Satavahana disappeared at the end of the 3rd century, and

the Vakataka in the 5th. Some strong local dynasties made names for themselves: the Pallava on the Coromandel coast and notably at Kanchipuram (4th to 8th century), the Kadamba in the west, and the Chalukya in Karnataka (6th to 8th century) particularly at Vatapi (Badami), where their most outstanding king, Pulakesin II, repulsed an attack by Harsha about 620. Other Chalukyas made their capital farther to the south, at Kalyani, and a related family called the Eastern or Vengi Chalukya reigned till the 13th century. They were pushed back and finally supplanted by the Chola, who extended their power as far as Bengal and Ceylon. Finally the Rashtrakuta, originally from the Maratha country, held towards the end of the 8th century a realm which reached from Gujerat to Tanjore.

Several of these kingdoms, especially the Pallava in the south and the Pala in the north, developed original styles of sculpture and architecture: the famous Kailasa of Elura (8th century) was constructed by the Rashtrakutas.

THE END OF THE HINDU PERIOD

However, Islam had for a long time threatened the integrity of India. The conquest of Sindh took place as far back as 711; the incursions of Mahmud of Ghazni took him eventually, in 1018, as far as Kanauj, that is to say, to the very heart of Hindustan; one after another the Hindu principalities fell. A period of Indian history came to an end.

II

LITERATURE

The Sanskrit language took form in North-West India during the second millennium before our era. It is a detached branch of the linguistic group which has been given the name Indo-Iranian, which in its turn derives from the mother-language Indo-European. In a distinctly archaic form, rich in noun and verb structures which are yet ill co-ordinated, Sanskrit was first used for literary expression in the Veda.

THE VEDAS

The Veda or "knowledge" consists of a body of texts which, though extending over many centuries (roughly from the 15th to the 6th century B.C.), relate to a single religious system, the religion called Vedic. The most ancient documents are the Samhitas ("collections"), which contain principally versified praises addressed to the chief deities of the cult, but also

isolated formulæ assigned for recitation in the course of the ceremonies, stanzas or groups of stanzas intended to be sung, incantations, and finally prose passages expounding ritual. They are divided into the *Rigveda* ("Veda of hymns"), *Yajurveda* ("Veda of sacrificial formulæ"), and *Samaveda* ("Veda of Chants"). To these three Vedas—of which the most ancient and by far the most important is the *Rigveda*—or as was sometimes said, to the Triple Science (*Trayi*), was later added the *Atharvaveda*. These constitute the Veda in the narrower sense of the term. In a broader sense, all or part of the following texts were included in it.

The Brahmanas ("Interpretations of the Brahman"), mainly prose collections which support to give the raison d'etre of the practices of the cult, to illustrate them by legends, and sometimes to interpret the formulæ literally. The Aranyakas ("Forest texts") and the Upanishads ("Speculative dialogues") form a prolongation of the Brahmanas; they carry the ritual material forward in the direction of symbolical explanation or philosophical speculation.

As opposed to this group of works, which constitute Sruti ("Revelations") stands Smriti ["Tradition (human)"], which includes among other things the six Vedangas "additional members or limbs" of the Veda:— phonetics (Siksha), ritual (Kalpa), grammar (Vyakarana), etymology (Nirukta), prosody (Chhandas), astronomy (Jyotisha).

Each of these texts is attached to one or other of the four Vedas; and within its Veda, to one of the schools, which increased in number as time went on, and became the guardians of particular interpretations of the sacred texts and of special liturgical practices. By reason of its antiquity, and of the richness of its mythology and ritual, all this literature is of incomparable value. At the literary level, some of the poems of the *Rigveda*, and of the *Atharvaveda*, and some passages from the Brahmanas and the Upanishads, count among the finest that India has produced.

THE EPICS

The legendary stories (itihasa) to which the Vedic texts often refer, furnish some of the material from which the Epics were built up. About the beginning of our era, these took shape in two great works:

(a) The *Mahabharata* ["The Great (story of the war of the) Bharata"], a composite work, a huge poem of ninety thousand *slokas* (couplets) and eighteen *parvan* (books), which traces the rivalry between the two families of the descendants

of Bharata, the hundred Kauravas and their cousins the five Pandava brothers, a rivalry which issues in an implacable war and the death of almost all the leaders. The story is interrupted by numerous episodes (among the best known are those of Nala and Damayanti, and of Savitri), fables, moral tales, and long political and moral disquisitions, which make the *Mahabharata* the fundamental source of Hinduism and an encyclopædia of Indian beliefs. It is also a work of art, which does not lack vigorous scenes and lively dialogues, set forth in a simple, rugged language which rises at times to grandeur. The famous *Bhagavadgita* ("Song of the Blessed One"), a short lyric-didactic poem, the gospel of the Krishna cult, is inserted into the *Mahabharata*. It is also extended by a supplement, the *Harivamsa*["The Line of Hari (Vishnu)"] (4th century?), a collection of legends used by the Bhagavata sect.

(b) The second great epic, of more recent composition, is the *Ramayana* ("The Deeds of Rama"), a poem of twenty four thousand slokas and seven Kandas (cantos,) attributed to Valmiki. It is a version in literary form of an old theme of which traces are found in many parts of Asia. The main theme of the *Ramayana* is the story of Rama, Prince of Ayodhya, and his wife, the noble Sita; a story interwoven with folklore and historical material destined to be told and retold endlessly in the Indian literatures. A poem of the court, subject to definite conventions of form and thought, the *Ramayana* contains many passages of real delicacy of expression and sensibility.

THE PURANAS

Confined at first to the priest caste, the literature of Brahmanism widened its scope with the Puranas ("Ancient matters"), and later with the innumerable sectarian treatises of Vaishnavism, Sivaism and Shaktism, which continued to multiply throughout the Middle Age. In the older Puranas the sectarian imprint is absent or weak. They are collections of legends and myths arranged as a cosmogony, sometimes intermixed with historical deeds, often mingled with hymns, religious and magical formulæ, and various kinds of instructions which make them minor encyclopædias. The point of departure seems to have been local traditions concerning one or another pilgrim centre or holy place. The best known are the *Vishnupurana* ["The Purana (revealed by) Vishnu"] and the *Bhagavatapurana* (later) ["The Purana of the Devotees of the Blessed One (Krishna)"].

THE TANTRAS

Among the sectarian texts must be mentioned the Tantras, collections similar to the Puranas, but devoted to more esoteric subjects; they frequently espouse the cult of the female Sakti ("Power") which symbolises the Goddess par excellence, the wife of Siva under one or another name.

THE DHARMA SHASTRAS

The teaching on dharma, that is to say on the Hindu "norms," given in a diffuse way in the epics and the religious literature, was codified towards the end of the Vedic period. At first it was set forth in sutra ("aphorism") form, and later in verse, which constitute the Dharmashastra ("Teaching on dharma"), or, as it is more simply put, the Smriti ["Tradition (par excellence)"]. The most famous is the Code of Manu or of the Manavas, known by the name of the Laws of Manu, which dates from about the beginning of our era. An enormous literature has accumulated on this subject, which has been pursued by way of commentaries (really systems of jurisprudence) down to modern times. The ancient Dharmashastra includes, besides juridical doctrines (civil and criminal law), a great deal of matter concerning custom, much of which is essentially religious (such as a theory of expiation), and political (the rights of kings), and finally, didactic verses and miscellaneous discussions.

ARTHASHASTRA AND KAMASHASTRA

Counterparts to the Dharmashastra are the Arthashastra ("Teaching on profit") and the Kamashastra ("Teaching on pleasure"). But the number of works of these types is far smaller. Arthashastra is represented by one treatise of great importance, which tradition ascribes to Kautilya, that is to the minister of Chandragupta Maurya, which places it in the 4th century before our era; but the attribution is very doubtful. It works over again, in an independent fashion, the subject-matter of dharma, but the essential object is to treat politics, economics and state administration for the purposes of a prince. The difficult text is a mine of new information on the ancient society. Most of the other treatises are concerned more particularly with politics or Niti. As to Kamashastra, the best known representative of this "science" is the *Kamasutra* of Vatsyayana (5th century?), which in addition to erotics proper, treats of court life, the practices of the man of the world, and other questions connected with the principal subject. The later works are more or less specialised.

ALAMKARA, VYAKARANA AND NATYASHASTRA

Some other theoretical trainings have had more direct influence on letters. These are metrics and lexicography, which at an a early period produced important works, and above all poetics (Alamkarashastra) and grammar (Vyakarana). Poetics, which is separated from dramaturgy in order to elaborate it as an independent subject, covers all the rules which a poet needs to master if he is to work effectively, and in particular a highly elaborate theory of the figures of rhetoric. The treatises succeed one another from Bhamaha, Dandin and Vamana, that is to say, the 7th or 8th century, those of the Middle Ages sometimes assume enormous proportions, and others treat of special questions, like the curious *Kavyamimamsa* ("Exegesis on poetry") of Rajashekhara (9th to 10th century). The foundations are laid on dramaturgy in the work attributed to Bharata, the *Natyashastra,* which may go back to the first centuries of our era, and condenses in close-knit verses all the conventions which applied to the theatre, the dance, mimicry, music, and dramatic chants. There are various manuals on dancing, music, architecture and many other arts, down to cookery and theft.

As for grammar, the earliest enquiries, relating to phonetics, date from Vedic times. The Bible of the subject remains the treatise in eight chapters (Astadhyayi) which we owe to Panini, which certainly dates from as far back as the 4th century B.C. It sets forth in very concise (Sutras) "aphorisms" the structure of the Sanskrit language as it existed at the close of the Vedic age, simplified and standardised "classical Sanskrit," as it was called henceforth. The work of Panini, which is the subject of a long series of commentaries [we must mention at least the extraordinary *Mahabhashya* ("Great Commentary") of Patanjali, 1st or 2nd century B.C.], is without doubt one of the most characteristic products of the Indian genius

HINDU SCIENCES

In the scientific subjects a number of important works appeared. In astronomy—often without much distinction from astrology—the treatises of Varahamihira (6th century); in mathematics—worked out in relation to astronomy—the treatises of Aryabhata (5th century), of Brahmagupta (7th century), and of Bhaskaracharya (12th century). In medicine the compendia attributed to Charaka and Sushruta, which were prepared or written at a very early period.

HISTORICAL RECORDS

If there are hardly any historical works, many texts contain in a more or less romanticised form some of the elements of annals, of connected narrative: the most authentic is the *Rajatarangini* ("The River of Kings") of Kalhana (12th century), a brilliant chronicle of the dynasties of Kashmir. The principal source remains the immense volume of Sanskrit epigraphy, with panegyrics of kings often of considerable size, records of donations to Brahmans, and to communities, edicts and decrees.

Many works treat of diverse subjects, like the curious *Brihatsamhita* ("Great Collection") of Varahamihira (6th century), or the *Chaturvargachintamani* ["The Ideal Jewel of the Four Objects (of human activity)"] of Hemadri (13th century).

PHILOSOPHY

In none of these subjects is the literature so extensive as in philosophy. The most ancient speculations go back as far as the Vedic hymns. They took a more deliberate form in the Upanishads, which are at the same time the outcome of the Veda and the door of access to the classical Vedanta. This Vedanta or "End of the Veda" was formulated, in the early centuries of our era, in a collection of somewhat obscure aphorisms attributed to Badarayana. Their oral interpretation culminated, in the 9th century, in the vast commentary of Sankara, who took the doctrine to an extreme point. The authors who came later, Ramanuja (11th century), Nimbarka (13th?), Madhvacharya (13th), Vallabhacharya (16th) and others, conducted the exegesis of the *Vedantasutra* in various ways. Several schools separated themselves, each reinterpreting in its own way all the ancient texts, including the *Gita,* which seem to them applicable to Vedantic purposes. This was the most prolific literature of the Middle Ages.

Although it continues the essential idea of some of the Upanishads, the Vedanta is less orthodox than the Mimamsa ["Exegesis (par excellence)"], of which the "aphorisms" (Sutras), compiled by Jaimini (3rd century?), and often commented on later, give rules of interpretation on ritual and dharma. Two great schools formed, that of Prabhakara (end of the 7th century), and that of Kumarila in the 8th.

The Samkhya ("Exposition in number") makes a greater departure from orthodoxy, though it also claims to revive a certain Vedic tradition. The basic text is the collection of mnemonic verses of Iswarakrishna (before the 6th century).

Its principal ideas have passed into the common fund of Hinduism almost as much as those of the Vedanta. And it is the Samkhya which has served as the philosophical framework of Yoga, which left to itself only describes the procedure necessary for certain supra-normal realisations. Thus "philosophical" Yoga, which received its formulation in the *Yoga-sutra* of Patanjali (5th century?), is distinguished from practical Yoga, whose origins go very far back, though it was given literary expression at a comparatively recent period.

The Nyaya ("Logic"), of which the "aphorisms" (Sutra), attributed to Gautama, are perhaps as early as the first centuries of our era, is an essentially "profane" discipline. It is elaborated in numerous works from the beginning of the 5th century, first commentaries on the Sutras, then independent texts, partly of Buddhist or Jain inspiration. Sometimes they deal with logic in the strict sense, sometimes with general epistemology, and sometimes they combine with elements of the Vaiseshika. The Vaiseshika ("Discriminative Exposition") also possesses its own texts, which claim to derive from the Sutras of Kanada, whose date is still uncertain.

There are other regions of speculation which could be mentioned, in particular grammar, upon which Bhartrihari (7th century) constructed a "philosophy" of linguistic categories which is not without interest. But the "six points of view" (darshana) of which we have just spoken, form one whole, grow on parallel lines, and seem to co-operate to lay the definitive basis of a single doctrine of salvation. As with other technical literature in Sanskrit, these works predominantly claim to be commentaries, which are essentially concerned to draw from a basic text, generally an equivocal one, a series of ever more subtle—and divergent—implications.

CLASSICAL LITERATURE

Composition of an artistic type was in no way smothered under this mass of didactic literature. A number of the scenes in the epics, not to mention the Vedas or the Puranas, were already conceived with an eye to artistic effect, without always conforming strictly to the standards of the classic poetics. The principles of poetics prevail in the greater part of the literature which remains to be dealt with: lyrical poetry, drama and stories. Only tales and fables to a large extent eluded it.

LYRIC POETRY

Everything points to the existence of an ancient lyric poetry,

of which fragments survive here and there. But the first fully formed work is that of Kalidasa, the greatest name of literary India. It is generally believed, in agreement with tradition, that he was a contemporary of Vikramaditya, that is Chandragupta II (4th to 5th century). The *Meghaduta* ("Cloud Messenger") is a touching love poem, set in an ingenious framework. The attribution of the *Ritusamhara* ("The Round of the Seasons") to Kalidasa is still doubtful. Among later works the palm undoubtedly goes to the Hundred Stanzas of Amaru (date uncertain), a series of gracious miniatures on romantic themes. A number of other collections could be mentioned: we must reserve a separate place for the erotic-religious lyric, of which the best specimen is the *Gitagovinda* ["The Cowherd (Krishna) in Song"] of Jayadeva (12th century), who refined the themes of popular song.

The lyric with a sententious tendency is represented by Bhartrihari (7th century), whose three "Centuries" on Love, on Practical Wisdom and on Renunciation have many fine passages of emotion or spirituality. There are many works in this mixed style, some individual, more often collective. We should mention the existence of anthologies, of which several are ancient and rich. In a sense there is hardly a literary work, epic or narrative, which does not contain many stanzas which are at once didactic and more or less "emotive;" their densely packed structure is one of the achievements of Sanskrit poetry, otherwise so excessively devoted to formal perfection.

This sententious poetry is even more attractive when it is put to the use of a historical or pseudo-historical tale; or of a didactic work like the *Kuttanimata* ("The discourse of the Go-between") of Damodara Gupta; or lastly, in a quite different spirit, like the Saivaite pomes attributed (wrongly) to Sankara. The minor epics, the Mahakavya ("Great Poems") are equally of a mixed character; these works, first written in earlier times, attained perfection only with Kalidasa, in the *Raghuvamsa* ("The Line of Raghu") and the *Kumarasambhava* ["The Birth of Kumara (son of Siva)"]. The ordering of phrase and the use of vocabulary, the effects of euphony and rhythm, are all appropriate; in spite of the conventional moral, a subtle art gives the poems a certain air of simplicity and probability.

After Kalidasa, the well esteemed poems of Bharavi, the *Kiratarjuniya* ["The Combat of Arjuna and (Siva disguised as a) Kirata" (5th century?),] and of Magha, the *Sisupalavadha* ["The Killing of Sisupala" (7th century)] began to carry rhetorical devices to excess. It is indeed a common feature

of most types of Sanskrit literature, that authors compete with each other in piling up "difficulties" just in proportion as the level of their work declines. A poem of this type, like the *Bhattikavya* (6th century), gives a free rendering of the story of Rama, and at the same time methodically illustrates the rules of grammar and of prosody.

DRAMA

The facts are similar as regards the theatre. After the first simple works, the refined comedies attributed to Bhasa (3rd century?), which draw freely on ancient legends, and of which the best is the *Svapnavasavadatta* ("The Dream-Vasavadatta"); and after the *Mrichhakatika* ("The Clay Cart") of Sudraka (4th century), the liveliest comedy of manners which Ancient India has left us, in which a political theme is happily joined to a love story, the pieces properly regarded as classical show an elaborate art. The *Mudrarakshasa* ("The Rakshasa and the Seal") of Vishakhadatta (6th century?), whose ground-plot is a story of political intrigue; and the long series of romantic comedies which begin with the *Shakuntala* (name of the heroine) of Kalidasa, are adorned with all the graces of sensibility and of style. The same author's *Vikramorvasi*, ["Urvasi (won by the) Valour (of Pururavas]" is a lyrical drama, and the *Malavikagnimitra* (names of the characters) is the type of the comedy of the harem. Harsha, the king (7th century), is declared to be the author of three pieces: two comedies of the harem, *Ratnavali* and *Priyadarsika* (names of the heroines), and also *Nagananda* ("The Bliss of the Nagas"), a dramatic rendering of a Buddhist legend. But the greatest name, with Kalidasa, is that of Bhavabhuti (8th century), who in his heroic tragedies *Mahaviracharita* ("Story of the Great Hero (Rama)") and *Uttararamacharita* ("The End of the Story of Rama"), as also in his comedy *Malatimadhava* (names of the characters), uses with very great ability the resources of the language and of psychology. With Rajasekhara (9th century,) Murari (11th century) and others, the drama continues without signs of new life; an interesting allegorical drama is the *Prabodhachandrodaya* ("The Rise of the Moon of Knowledge") of Krishanamisra (11th century). There are finally, some tolerably good farces and satires.

These works are distinguished, first, by a mixture of dialogue (written in more or less familiar prose) and verse often descriptive, and having no connection with the plot written in a learned style. They are distinguished, secondly,

by the allotment to each character of a language suitable to him: men of high rank speak Sanskrit, those of low rank or culture, as well as the women, speak Prakrit; the parts which are sung are in a special dialect; and at least theoretically there is quite a gamut of dialects.

STORIS, TALES AND FABLES

Narrative works in prose are of very various types. There is first a small number of romantic tales, like the *Dasakumara-charita* ('Story of Ten Young Men") of Dandin (7th century?), a series of picaresque adventures, or the *Kadambari* (name of the heroine) of Bana, (7th century), in which he uses all the elaborate refinement of the poetical works. To these may be added an historical story, the *Harshacharita* ["History of (King) Harsha"], by the same Bana, written in the same style.

There are, in the second place, the episodic stories, composed in a relatively simple verse form: they derive from an original which is lost, the Prakrit *Brihatkatha* ("The Great Story") of Gunadhya (3rd century?). The best-known version is the *Kathasaritsagara* ("Ocean of the Rivers of Stories") of Somadeva (11th century), an inexhaustible source of folklore themes.

There are finally the stories in simple prose interspersed with sententious verses, which through the entertainment of the fable try to convey instruction and illustrate the principles of worldly wisdom. The *Panchatantra* ("Collection of Five Books") of unknown date and authorship, has come down to us in several different editions. This work has travelled outside India to an extent without parallel: more than two hundred versions, in more than fifty languages, have been identified. A popular abridged version is the *Hitopadesa* ("Profitable Instruction").

BUDDHIST AND JAIN LITERATURE

It must also be remembered that a vast literature has grown up, since the early days of Buddhism and Jainism in the service of these religions. Often incorrect in form, using many vernacular words, it deals with religious practices, sermons, legends and scholastic questions. It rarely rises to the level of art, although one of the Buddhist doctors, Asvaghosha (2nd century) wrote some edifying plays and made attempts at Mahakavya. Among those who expounded Buddhist dogma, we must mention several teachers of the Mahayana School, Nagarjuna and Aryadeva (of undecided dates), Asangha and Vasubandhu (4th to 5th century), and finally the "logicians"

Dignaga (5th century) and Dharmakirti (6th to 7th century), and the didactic poet Shantideva (7th century). A famous work is the *Saddharmapundarika* ("The Lotus of the Good Law") (date undetermined).

Thus we see that few departments of culture lack representation in this literature. Of the highest value for the learned, it is liable to disconcert and even perhaps irritate one who comes to it without preparation. It is largely esoteric, in the sense that convention and system play a considerable part in it, and that the language tends to assume symbolic values, and this is accentuated by the "abstract" grammar of post-Vedic times, with its nominal style and long compounds. Except in some happy descriptive passages, the reader is not often in the presence of an immediate, tangible reality. That is the fate of any literature torn away from contact with the living language (Sanskrit was practically a "dead" language, apparently, from the beginning of our era) and confined to an elite (the priest, the pandit, and the court poet) who use it without renewing it.

PALI

Ancient India possessed from an early period certain dialects derived from Sanskrit, which make up what is called the Indian medium. Even these hardly ever appear in a really popular form, and some texts give the impression of having been translated from a Sanskrit original. The most important of these languages, and the most ancient, is Pali, which served as the vehicle for Buddhism. It appears first in the form of the Buddhist canon, in its traditional threefold division into rules of discipline (vinaya), dialogues and sermons (sutta), and dogmatic works (abhidhamma): and later in the post-canonical works, which include a great number of commentaries—one may note the *Visuddhimagga* ("The Way of Purity") by Buddhaghosha (5th century?); historical chronicles, like the *Mahavamsa* ("The Great Line") (6th century); and collections of stories, of which the most important by far is the *Jataka* ["The book of the Previous Births (of the Buddha)"], a vast body of five hundred edifying legends, of which the verses, inserted as introductions or in the prose text, are accepted as part of the canon. A work of uncommon type is the *Milindapanha* ("The Questions of Milinda") (end of the 2nd century), a dialogue between the Greek king Menander and the saint Nagasena. There are finally some collections of legends written in a strongly Sanskritised vernacular, the *Mahavastu* ["(The Collection of)

Great Subjects")], and the *Lalitavistara* ["The Expansion of the Play (of the Buddha)"] (date undetermined).

PRAKRITS

The Prakrits are a group of dialects belonging, in principle, to different areas, which we find used for fairly definite literary purposes. The most important were used for the canonical and extracanonical texts of the Jainas: they were succeeded by the Apabhramsa, a "degraded" Jain Prakrit in use undoubtedly before the 10th century. Other Prakrits are used, as noted above, in the classical drama. There were also some independent texts: like the *Sattasai* ["The Seven Hundred (Stanzas)"] attributed to the king Hala (2nd century), a collection of lyrics, often very fine, of rural life, popular in inspiration but strongly stylised. The *Gaudavaha* ["The Murder of (Prince) Gauda"] by Vakpatiraja (8th century) is a specimen of the learned poem on a historical subject.

III

RELIGION

The Vedic religion, the most ancient form of Brahmanism, may have inherited from the Indo-Iranian community, and even from the Indo-European community, some elements of its myth groups, and cults; and it may on the other hand have incorporated in itself elements which it found in the places where it established itself. But it is, none the less for that, a highly original creation.

The basic observance is the sacrifice: the preparation and lighting of the sacred fires, the construction of the altar, the offerings (isti) of vegetable substances, butter (ghrita), barley and rice (notably all forms of cakes) and in particular the juice of soma, a plant with an exhilarating quality which was pressed between stones, strained through a woollen sieve, and mixed with water and milk before being poured into the altar vessels. In addition to this essential sacrifice, there was, sometimes together with it, sometimes independently, an animal sacrifice, (pasu), and on certain specially solemn occasions, the immolation of a horse. The sacrifice of a human being by way of revenge was at this time only a memory. All kinds of practices, daily, monthly, seasonal, marked the religious time-cycle. Some were public, requiring a greater or lesser degree of solemnity, such as the "occasional" rite which constituted the ceremonious rajasuya ("consecration of the

king"). Others were private, performed round the domestic hearth: among these were the "sacraments" for the phases of life of the twice-born, from conception to death and beyond it, such as the introduction to the spiritual teacher, (upanayana), marriage (vivaha), the funeral (antyesti), and the rites for the maintenance of the dead (sraddha). Finally on the fringes of the cult were all sorts of magical practices, of which many took place between the prince and his family priest. Magic assured to the applicant a series of benefits modelled on those more general favours, relative to this world or the next, which the normal cult procured. Performed originally by way of thanksgiving, or more often of prayer, the sacrifice came to be conceived as an end in itself, and contained within itself the whole practice of religion: ceremonial error thus became a major sin, and the act, minutely prescribed and executed, engendered its own powers.

RELIGIOUS RITES

The solemn rites did not require, any more than the others, a temple or a permanent personnel. They took place near the village, on a level piece of ground, which was prepared anew for each ceremony, with three fireplaces around which sacred grass was scattered, and central altar (vedi), which consisted ordinarily in a simple rectangle in the ground. Round this area were wooden huts covered with thatch to hold the instruments of the cult or shelter those taking part. The group of officiating priests, all duly specialised, the reciters, makers of oblations, assistants, singers, under the silent supervision of the priest called Brahman, were joined by the patron of the sacrifice (yajamana) and his wife. The various actions took place in regular order, following a semi-dramatic plan. They were accompanied by the repetition of brief formulæ, though at some points there were longer recitations to a monotonous chant.

The poems from which these formulæ and chants are taken reveal a very rich mythology. which explains the cult, and from which the rites are deemed to be derived. There are a number of highly coloured divine figures, often overladen with legends, whose importance, very variable in any case, has no relation to their liturgical role. At the head is Indra, a kind of national hero of the Aryan clans, a warrior who performs mighty deeds, releases the waters, conquers the light, and lays low with his thunderbolt both human and demonic enemies. After him come the Asvins, twin gods who preside over the daybreak; the Maruts, who

ride on the clouds and the lighting, whose "clan" is associated, on the other hand, with Rudra, a type of ambivalent divinity (like many other ideas in the Veda), both beneficent and fearful.

Most of these gods have a naturalistic, often primitive, side, at the same time bearing more or less vague values, ritual, social and symbolic. The representation of the sun is complex: it is found in the form of Savitri, "the stimulator," of Pusan, the guide, of Vishnu, "who traversed the universe in three strides," and of Agni, who represents fire in all its manifestations—terrestrial fire, the conveyor of oblations, the lightning, the light of the heavens, and the potential fire contained in waters and plants, and in the pieces of wood which are rubbed to produce a spark. Here the ritual element is predominant, as it is in the Soma, the deified liquor of the sacrifice, which is identified with the moon. Mitra and Varuna, which also have "celestial" aspects, are the chief members of the groups of Adityas, guardians of the order of things (rita), and placed, so to speak, in the background of the pantheon. There are many other personages, several of them feminine, like the gracious Usha, the dawn, abstract entities, instruments, and various symbols arbitarily raised to divine status. The forces, principles and entities thus represented cover all aspects of life, human and divine. As to the world of demons, it gives shape, in a thousand variations, to the ideas of hostility and resistance.

HENOTHEISM

There is no real hierarchy in this multiplicity of gods. To each god as he is invoked are ascribed the highest merits, and each is given at the same time the prerogatives of his rivals. This henotheism, as it used to be called, must lead to the effacement of the individuality of each god, and this actually happened in the later period of the Vedic religion. Thus at that time Prajapati, originally a minor god, "master of men," rises to the highest place, and is identified with the sacrifice, fusing with the notion, itself simultaneously brought to the front, of the brahman, that "speculative formula" raised to the level of a universal transcendental power. Cosmogony encroaches on mythology: the search for a unique principle, which is actually to be noticed from the beginnings of the Vedic period, marks the line of division between religion, which remains committed to multiplicity, to a contingent universe, and speculation, which attempts to explain the whole of reality.

The other aspects of belief are in retreat: we are told nothing in detail about the other world, about rewards and punishments, or even about the mode of survival. Religion deals in attainable goods: the sacrificial act is a shop, in which one gives in order to receive, and to receive more than one has given. The theory of the sacrificial act and its consequences, the series of existences, either remained in the margin of Vedic thought, or existed only in a latent state. Somewhat more in evidence are the ascetic practices and the technique of mysticism. However, it must be remerbered that the Vedic texts, despite their extent, afford us only a partial view, indeed a partisan view, of religious development during those distant centuries when Hinduism was being silently evolved.

HINDUISM

When the post-Vedic texts appear, that is at a time approaching the Christian era, Hinduism is already fully formed. Admittedly it still retains elements of tradition in almost all its departments, but even more, it has borrowed from local cults of many types which must have been pressed back or altered by the flowing tide of Vedism. Hinduism—or as it is better termed, classical Brahmanism—shows itself first of all as an enlargement of the religious horizon. Broader classes of the population have acceded to the cult, though the supremacy of the priest class remains theoretically untouched. The old ranks have been broken up by sectarianism, by dispersion into new regions, and by the internal evolution of incessant speculation. It is indeed no longer a religion: it is a complete organisation of society and of thought.

The mythology has greatly changed, largely shedding its naturalistic basis, though the fertility myths retain a certain vitality. Some new systems have come into being, in the form of stories of the genealogies of the gods. Some divine attributes have been raised to the level of autonomous figures, while minor gods are drawn in the wake of the great gods. A triad, Brahman, Vishnu, Siva, has risen to the highest place. The composite figure of Vishnu is that of the "preserver" of the universe, presiding over human destinies, representing mystical love; his posture is often passive, reclining on the cosmic serpent, or mounted on the eagle Garuda, hereditary enemy of the serpents; his four emblems, the conch, the disc, the club and the lotus, are the subject of symbolical explanations, as are his "expansions," his twenty-four attitudes, and indeed every aspect of his being, as a focus of mystical powers.

More complex still is Siva, the "beneficient," who owes many of his characteristics to the Vedic Rudra. He is above all the destroyer, who sweeps away all things, who kills enemies, and is indeitified with Time, and Death. But this harmful aspect can assume more amiable traits in the Siva who is "king of the dance": he compensates for his destructive activities in his role of the procreator, the lover, inspirer of spiritual activities, in all the attitudes of "favour" shown in iconography. A third aspect, perhaps the most ancient, is the ascetic Siva, in the posture of a Yogin, with an eye in the middle of his forehead and dressed in skulls and snakes. His mount is the white bull Nandin, his essential symbol the linga, a stylised phallic emblem, which is the object of an independent cult.

The third member of the triad is Brahman, the old "supreme principle" (neuter) of the Veda, who has developed into the creator god in this secondary and rather lifeless system of the trimurti, the Hindu "trinity." In fact Brahman remains almost devoid of cult and schematic representation.

THE FEMININE PERSONALITIES

The feminine personalities have taken on considerable importance as the wives of the gods: the gracious Lakshmi or Sri, "beauty" and "good fortune," wife of Vishnu; and above all the Goddess of the many names, Durga, Kali, Parvati, Gauri, etc., the wife of Siva, a formidable figure which among certain sections of Hindus has eclipsed every other image: taking on the terrible forms of Siva, which she carries to an extreme point, but nevertheless of very variable aspect, she seems to derive from a primitive Mother Goddess, by way of some of the regional cults. She embodies the idea of "sakti," the divine "power," which since Vedic times has animated the male gods.

A number of other personages appear: such as Kubera, the god of wealth, who lives in Kailasa; Kama, the god of love, who tried to seduce Siva and was reduced to ashes; Skanda or Kumara, the god of war, son of Siva and Parvati; and the most popular of all, Ganesha with the elephant head, "lord of hordes" and of "obstacles," and the inspirer of literary efforts. Most of the Vedic gods survive, notably Indra, whose legend continues to unfold. Several have become Lokapalas, "regents of the world," personifying the ancient idea of the directions in space.

Some of the cults, direct or symbolic, of the sun and moon, and indeed of the stars and planets, still flourish: the stars are

the ancient sages, the seers of the old hymns. If the twin gods have almost disappeared, the "groups" have expanded; the Nagas combine with the underground world of the serpents the image of anthropomorphic genii loci; the Yakshas are the power of vegetation, bearers of occult knowledge, like the Vidyadharas, who have become the very stuff of legend. There are various classes of male and female demons: ghosts or bhuta and preta, which have absorbed some of the inferior deities. We still meet some of the groups to be found in the Veda, the Gandharvas, the celestial musicians, with their wives, the Apsarasas.

AVATARAS

A more important feature, very characteristic of Hinduism, and the more so that some elements of it go back very far, is the system of avataras, or descents of the divinity on earth. Ten stories of this kind have become associated with the person of Vishnu, and are believed to record the interventions of the gods in human affairs in successive epochs: sometimes as theriomorphic or ambiguous incarnations—fish, tortoise, bear, man-lion, dwarf; sometimes borrowing from heroic legend: Rama with the axe, Ramchandra, Krishna; and finally the avatara of Buddha, and the avatara still "to come," Kalkin. In the cases of Rama and Krishna, the most considerable cycles, the deed is expanded into a vast and more or less coherent biography. Rama is the ideal hero whose character has been fixed by Valmiki's poem; Krishna is the chief of a clan allied to the Pandavas, who takes part in the Bharata war, and is also a bucolic spirit, hero of love episodes with milkmaids and Radha, his mistress.

The examples of Rama and Krishna show the mode of growth of the cults of heroes and saints. The legends have proliferated, taking form about a sanctuary, a place of pilgrimage, or a sacred ford (tirtha). Everything goes to show that India has had a network of pilgrimages since a very early period. "Village gods" flourish everywhere; primitive cults form around animals, plants, waters, even rocks; the presence or the potentiality of the divine reveals itself in some measure in everything. Royal genealogies push their roots back right into mythology. Among the most popular themes, apart from the warlike or love adventures of Siva and Krishna, can be mentioned the descent of the Ganges, the churning of the ocean, and the cycle of Agastya.

DOMESTIC CULTS

The domestic cult remains, at least as regards the "sacraments" more tenacious than the public cult, which soon declined. If the formulæ have been changed, the ancient schema is preserved. The most important innovations are those which concern the shraddha, the nutritive and commemorative rites which formalised a cult of the ancestors which became very vigorous. Oblations of vegetable substances are still respected; and animal sacrifices also, though under the influence of ahimsa have sometimes given way to symbolic offerings. Even human sacrifice, whether or not it is recognised by the sects, is fairly widely attested. And we must regard as essentially religious the "voluntary" sacrifice of the widow, the sati or "faithful wife" who follows her husband on to the funeral pyre.

PRAYER

Prayer becomes something sufficient unto itself; it takes on the most various forms, from long litanies (the litany of a thousand names is classical) to condensed formulæ or isolated syllables: even the simple nasal reasonance releases unforeseen energies. It develops from arbitrary signs, the "seeds," whose interpretation varies with particular initiations. Prayer is also "mental:" that is in fact the form regarded as the highest. It consists in holding up before the mind the image of the god or his symbol, the *yantra* or diagram, the *mandala* or "circle," which is also drawn in straightforward geometrical style, with interlacing letters or ornaments. The formula, the written syllable, is "imprinted" on definite parts of the body by means of the tips of the fingers. Finally, the mudras, "seals," are gestures of the hands which represent a prayer, or religious smybol. Among the instruments of the cult apart from the many sacrifical vessels, are the rosary, and many talismans or "protectors." Sect marks are drawn on the face.

Apparently unknown in Vedic times, the image of the god has become the subject of a body of precepts concerning manufacture, installation, consecration, and "fixing of the breath." It is the essential object of *puja,* public or private service which consists, together with various other solemnities, in decorating, feeding and adoring the idol, swinging lights, etc. The ceremonial puja takes inspiration from the etiquette of the court. There are processions, yatra or marches, in which the image is carried through the streets on a high heavy carriage, often drawn by the worshippers.

THE TEMPLES

The temples must at first have been narrow *cellae*, simple sacred enclosures near a tree, like the first chaityas, the abode of bhutas and yakshas, before they became definite sanctuaries. Astrological and geomantic considerations govern the building of the temple, and to it are attached permanent personnel, a body of "servants of the god," dancers and consecrated courtesans. In the more important temples are rooms for study, and for dramatic representations, shelters and charitable institutions. At that time these performed the functions of of the monasteries which Brahmanical India may have known, though monastic rules and hierarchies are not proved to have existed before the period when, according to tradition, Sankara gave them a decisive impetus.

Hinduism is associated with a number of practices which do not form part of the cult in the proper sense, but are nevertheless more obtrusive than the cult usages themselves. Most obvious are the restrictions in regard to food, and more generally the attention paid to everything that depends on contact. Thus a close network of prohibitions surrounds a Hindu's life: the best known is the ban on killing or eating the cow. Observances (vrata) are rules valid for a time, for particular purposes: some are very elaborate, involving offerings, gifts, magic, austerities, and many other kinds of practices. A number of these serve the purpose of expiation, for there is a formulated set of rules on expiation which compete with the punishments of the civil law and, in extereme cases, replace all other kinds of punishment.

Gifts to Brahmans themselves form a system, and the texts insist on their importance without shame. They can take fantastic forms, whether it is a case of ritual fees or the founding of institutions, such as the "gifts of the law" which the epigraphs so often describe.

Feasts are often very extended celebrations, where with the properly religious features are associated many profane elements, and even bacchanalian scenes. They fill the year with a fixed cycle of special days; and dramatic performances are freely added to them.

TANTRISM

Tantrism has gradually invaded the Brahmanical rites, which in any case constitute a large part of what the Tantras claim to reveal. These Tantric rites are given some of the air of an initiation: they are surrounded with secrecy, and an

esoteric aura hangs round their formulæ and practices. The "homage of the circle" consists in acts of adoration where the sexual element is in evidence, the notion of the divine sakti being transferred to a woman or a girl: cônsummation, enjoyment, are here regarded as means to Deliverance, in the same way as asceticism or meditation in other doctrines. Some systems had recourse to black magic, or to Yoga. Like this last, the Tantras, on the basis of a pseudo-physiological conception of the "circles" of the body, has developed practices connected with the ascent of the interior breath: the symbol of this is the kundalini, a serpent coiled at the base of the vertebral column, which is awakened and made to rise from circle to circle up to the "fissure of Brahman."

Magic is not confined to Tantrism. All known types of incantation, attractive and repulsive, are to be met with, and many types of divination; the theory of "signs," natural astrology, and horoscopy have been elaborately developed.

The accounts given of paradise remain elementary. Those of hell are more elaborate, in accordance with the pessimism of the Indians, which is shown in the repulsive stamp given to the theory of reincarnation, which henceforth constitutes Hindu eschatology; or again in the picture of the evils of our time, the Kali age, evils which are exactly such as to render more imperious the demands of religion.

VEDISM

Vedism was organised in a series of "schools," that is, in centres of study and cult centres. These implied no real divergence of doctrine. The sects made their appearance with the rise of Hinduism. These were at first the broad divisions between the Vaishnavites, Saivaites and then the Shaktas. Subdivisions began to increase from the beginning of the second millennium. The notion of the sect is not easy to define: it involves adherence to such or such basic text (the Gita for many), the adoption of certain usages, the carrying of certain emblems. In spite of the apparent narrowness of Brahmanism, and the occurrence of quite violent disputes, the dominating impression is one of tolerance. There is nothing like a schism, however aberrant the character of some of these communities. The cause of difference may be the action of a leader or of a small influential group, or the effect of a vivid local legend. The Shaktas are predominantly followers of the Tantric cult. The Smartas on the other hand consider themselves orthodox, although their fidelity is shown above all in negative traits. The Saivaites are devoted to Yoga, and at the same

time to the Sankara Vedanta; among them are to be noted the Pashupata, the Kapalika, and the Virasaiva or Lingayats. The more highly evolved doctrines (as in the Saivaism of Kashmir) exist side by side with gross, indeed barbarous customs. The Vaishnavites emphasise bhakti, a kind of pietism which prevails in many sects and tends among the Krishnaites to assume erotic forms. The practices of the Vaishnavites are of a more serene character than those of the Saivaites, and their rituals are briefer. In earlier times the Bhagavata and the Pancharatra sects formed part of the broad movement of Vaishnavism; in later times the groups which grew up round the commentators on the Vedanta who came after Sankara.

BUDDHISM

We shall deal briefly with Buddhism, which though an "Asian" phenomenon of the highest importance, has been no more than an incident in the religious thought of India. Its long survival in India for nearly fifteen centuries is explained by its strong monastic organisation not less than by the often vigorous protection afforded it by a number of Indian sovereigns, from Asoka to the Palas of Bengal.

The foundation of Buddhism is the work of a Kshatriya of the Sakya tribe, Siddhartha the Gautama, born near Kapilavastu (on the outer slopes of the eastern Himalaya) towards the end of the 6th century before our era. After various vicissitudes and fruitless gropings he "awoke" one day, by the sole application of thought, to a knowledge of the Four Truths; from a Bodhisattva, the "Being before the Awakening" he became the Buddha Sakyamuni. All the preaching which he undertook over North-East India was to spread this revelation and the Law which it impiles. This he did until the day when, at the age of eighty, "he extinguished himself completely, like a flame blown out by the wind," or in other words he entered into parinirvana, at Kusinagara (capital of the Mallas). His relics became the objects of impassioned devotion, and a legend with a thousand ramifications grew up round this simple biography, of which the main outlines, despite all that has been said, correspond to a certain historical reality.

THE TEACHING OF THE BUDDHA

The Buddha laid the foundations of a church: a body of mendicant monks and a body of nuns, each ruled by a code of discipline. Beyond these were the laity or "assistants," men and women, whose essential duty was to maintain the clergy.

These met every day of the week for public confession; they lived in convents (vihara) during the rainy season; and the rest of the year, at least in principle, they led the wandering life. Councils laid down the dogma and the discipline: that of Rajagriha after the Buddha's death; a hundred years later, that of Vaisali which permitted the schism of the Mahasanghikas; a third took place under Asoka; and a fourth under Kanishka. It was towards the time of this last (2nd century) that early Buddhism, that of the "minor vehicle" (as its opponents called it), which had already become differentiated from primitive Buddhism by the increase in the power of the monks and the imprint of the Brahmanical system, was opposed and partially ousted by the Buddhism of the "great vehicle." This latter was a reform, a return to the teaching of the Buddha; but more than that it was profound transformation, consisting in the introduction of a ritualism, which continued to expand, the creation of a veritable "religion", one moreover imbued with Hindu influences, where originally there had been only a code of practical wisdom and of self-disci-pline. The quest for personal deliverance, the attainment of nirvana, a kind of "phenomenal annihilation," and the ideal of the arhat, were now replaced by an ideal of collective salvation, the pietistic morality of the Bodhisattva, and attainment to the state of the Buddha. A whole theology was built up, supported by a cosmology and a mythical cosmography, with speculations on the nature of the Buddha(who by now had become a divinity of a pantheistic type), and a cult of celestical Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, of Maitreya, the "son of compassion," the future Buddha, and of Avalokitesvara, the "Lord Who Looks Down." On the other hand, the gods of early Buddhism, survivals from Brahmanism or popular cults, disappeared.

The Hinduising tendency was marked also in the Tantric Buddhism called Vajrayana ("the diamond vehicle"), which practised an esoteric ritual, magic exercises inspired by the classical Yoga, and the worship of Sakti (as in the Tara cult).

Each of these "vehicles", as it is usually translated, had its schools, which differed one from the other less in dogma in the proper sense than in speculation, that is in theory of knowledge. Each had its texts and adopted a canonical language.

JAINISM

Jainism developed in a way strangely parallel to Buddhism. The man who came to be called Mahavira, "the

great hero," was born in the 6th century before our era, the son of a minor ruler in Bihar. He obtained Knowledge as the result of long meditation, and became the Jina, the spiritual "conqueror" of the world. After preaching for a number of years in many places, he died at Pava at the age of seventy-two. Rather than the founder, he seems to have been a reformer of a movement which had been started by Parsva some centuries earlier.

The Jina also laid the foundations of a monastic body separate from the laity who supported it. But the rule was stricter than in Buddhism. A schism which took place, or rather came to a head, in the first century of our era, divided the Digambara, the "clothed in air," i.e. those who went naked, from the Svetambara, the "clothed in white," the two differing on minor points of doctrine and practice. Councils which met much later laid down the dogma and fixed the canon.

As in all the Indian religions, the aim was to lead the soul out of the cycle of rebirths to Deliverence, Nirvana, a difficult process which included not less than fourteen stages. Among the practical rules the most important was to avoid injuring any living creature, even unconsciously. The fast was favoured, and could be taken as far as suicide; other forms of asceticism, external and internal, were also practised. An elaborate cult was devoted, not to the divinity (Jainism is in essence as "atheistic" as early Buddhism), but to the Tirthankaras, the twenty-four "makers of the road" or "pioneers" who had proclaimed the doctrine and founded the community. A ritual similar to that of Hinduism was followed in the public sanctuaries, from the simple shrine to the elaborate city temple, round which all the activities of the faithful and their dependants were organised.

IV

SPECULATIONS

It is from the functions of the ritual that speculation begins. The operations of the cult reproduce the phenomena of nature: there grows up a network of connections tending to identify the human world, the microcosm, and the sacrificial activity, on the one hand, with the phenomena of the sky and of the atmosphere on the other, both being regarded as subject to a system of forces. The principal force, and at the same time the law which governs these connections, is Rita, the "order," or rather the preordained "course" which guides

both the external world and the moral world, and the rites. It is opposed to the "uncontrolled," that is to say enmity, evil, error. When these connections are projected into the past, they give rise to cosmogonies, such as that which is elaborated in the tenth book of the Rigveda.

There gradually forms, by progressive identifications, a unique principle, masculine or more often neuter, regarded as the origin rather than as the cause of the world, which include all the multitude of appearances by which we try to describe it. In the second stage of the evolution of Vedism, in the Brahmanas, time and multiplicity are both absorbed into the sacrificial act—the sacrifice-Prajapati—at first haphazard, dispersed, then brought together and organised, which assures the continuance of the world.

However, it is neither the One of the Veda nor the Sacrifice which marks the term of Vedic thought. It is the notion of the Brahman. Since the period of the Hymns, the word is one of the forces which govern nature, and the Brahman (neuter) is nothing else, in its essence, than the "word" par excellence, the sacred because "mysterious" word (that is to say, the bearer of connections). From this the Brahman expands into a sort of supreme essence, representing the very basis of all being. The atman, that is to say the individual soul, was first the breath ruling the body, felt as connected with the external air, which blows across space and moves other beings. The bringing together of the atman and the Brahman, the self and the immanent self, marks the decisive indentity, expressed in the monistic formulæ of the Upanishads, tat tvam asi, "thou art That," and aham brahma, "I am the Brahman."

THE VEDIC RELIGION

The Vedic religion, at least at the level of the Upanishads, sets itself a practical aim, which is already the same as that which all the later systems have in view: the attainment of Deliverance. From this point of view the Indian "philosophies" are religions. To be delivered means to emerge from the cycle of rebirths, to escape from karman. Various means of unequal value lead towards it, but the effective means is Knowledge, that is, a deepening of reflection, reinforced by certain practices.

On most of these points, "classical" India continues the thought of the Veda. The external world, with its variegated forms under arbitrary names, is more or less felt to be an appearance: it is said to be Maya, "illusion," using an old

word which originally meant the "enchantments" created by some of the gods. Behind this appearance is a unique principle, which is sometimes regarded as immanent, and then is often of the nature of a divine personality, or is transcendent and deliberately remains impersonal, on the plane of the Brahman. The idea of a supreme personal God has no support.

The classical cosmography pictures an "egg of Brahman" from which the series of successive creations hatch out. This egg is the world, including the seven heavenly levels, and the seven levels under the earth (of which the lowest is hell), and in the middle the earth, pivoted on Mount Meru, and divided into seven concentric "islands," separated each from the next by seven oceans. The central island is Jambudvipa, "the island of the rose-apple," that is India, or in general the inhabited world.

The duration of the universe, from creation to dissolution, is that of one day of the life of Brahman: an infinite number of creations have gone before, and an infinite number of dissolutions will follow. Each cycle is divided into four ages, which proceed from the golden age, to the "triad," then to the "distinguished-by-two," to the evil age—our own—which in the present instance began at a date corresponding to 3102 B.C., and of which the end, announced by a messianic appearance, will be a "twilight," followed quickly by a new golden age.

The body consists of gross matter, connected with the soul by a pneumatic principle which governs breathing, speech, vision, hearing and understanding. Parallel to it there is a subtle body, serving as a link between pure matter and pure spirituality, and with functions corresponding to those of the gross body; it is the subtle body which, at death, carries the "predispositions" and accompanies the soul to its new destination. As to the notion of the soul itself, it is very variable: sometimes it is represented in a quite concrete way, and the distinction of soul and body is less clear-cut than in Western conceptions. The soul is affected by its association with matter, it is subject to the guna (see elsewhere), and not endowed with "personal" immortality: the psychic processes are often interpreted as material processes. The souls of those who have attained "deliverance" alone are finally freed from association with matter.

KARMAN

Karman is a substance-force, which has independent existence: it is at the same time the act, the effect of past acts,

the condition of future acts, and finally the law which governs these, a deterministic law like those of physics, but carrying with it enough flexibility to serve as the basis of an ethic, to engender dharma. Karman attaches to the soul in the form of joy or suffering, according to which it functions as reward or punishment; it can remain latent a long time, until it "ripens" one day and realises itself. As the individual never ceases to accumulate karman, it is necessary, in order to maintain the effect, to suppose that each human life is one of a long series of existences: this is the theory of samsara, or "cycle, continued series (of births)." The soul thus returns to the earth, charged with the residue of the karman which it has not been able to discharge during its temporary sojourn in paradise or hell. It comes back to a strictly determined state of life: evil actions, if repeated, entail progressively more degraded rebirths (from the lower human levels to the vilest animal species), while meritorious acts shorten the cycle or at least raise the level of rebirth.

Deliverance is the exhaustion of the karmic accumulation, like the potter's wheel which ceases to turn if its first impulse is not renewed. It is characterised by the fact that the individual is liberated from impurity, evil, suffering and ignorance. To have realised in oneself the true nature of the soul and of the world is to have "burned the very seed of action." Sometimes it is represented as a state of bliss which cannot be experienced, like deep sleep or certain conditions beyond sleep; sometimes it is a state "full of life," really positive. And sometimes it is a state of knowledge acquired by intuition, or by study under a master, a pure apprehension, strengthened by certain methods of unification of thought like Yoga, or again an affective, emotional "participation" (bhakti) in the divine being, a sort of combination of love and faith.

Each of the great disciplines has its own type of speculation, which gives its special colour even to the ideas they hold in common. Thus in the theory of poetics, the centre of interest (at least with certain authors) is the conception of dhvani, "resonance," that is the power of suggestion inherent in words and meanings. It is one of the fundamental elements of rasa: rasa, "savour," is primarily the subjective state of the spectator who tastes the work of art, a pleasure due to the awakening of latent impressions, predispositions "impregnating" his sensibility and his imagination as a perfume impregnates cloth. Consequently rasa becomes a permanent "sentiment," a mode which affects the work and serves as a criterian of art.

GRAMMAR AND MEDICINE

In grammar, the notion of the eternity of the word has led to the postulation of a phonic substratum, a sort of ancestral prototype of all words, which is at the source of the actual word, and is called sphota, "bursting." It is this which carries the meaning of the word and ensures its correct pronunciation in perpetuity. This conception is an attempt to explain how a group of inert, momentary sounds can form an intelligible and permanent value. On the metaphysical plane, sphota is an aspect of the "verbal Brahman," a transcendent principle which controls the world of words.

Medicine has its own theories, such as that (inherited in part from the Veda) of the "breath" which in various specialised forms resides in the body and governs the organic functions. In the classical medical theory, the breath is associated with two other principles, the bile, which is of a fiery nature, and the phlegm, of a watery nature; their equilibrium creates health; the increase or decrease of one of them is the cause of "disturbance." On this basis the medical texts have outlined a logic, an ethic, and a psychology.

But the most important part of this speculation is collected in what are called the six darsanas or "views," which are not systems but perspectives on reality, "scientific," or at least realistic explanations, which in course of time became complete philosophies, with a uniformly theistic tendency, and issuing in doctrines of salvation.

THE MIMAMSA

1. The Mimamsa is in the first place a theory of the "Word": the eternity of the Veda (implying the denial of any supreme god); then by corollary the eternity of the words (of the Veda) and of sound in general, the permanence of the connection between words and meanings; and finally the eternity of certain substances, such as the "kind" conceived as independent of the individual. At the centre of the formal structure of the Veda is the injunction, which "brings into existence" the act, that is the rite. When the act does not receive its recompense immediately, as when the recompense belongs to the other world, it suspends its effect and maintains it in a latent state. This is possible thanks to a force called apurva, "the unprecedented," a force which remains attached to the soul until the effect of the act is released.

THE VEDANTA

II. The Vedanta develops the monistic tendencies of the Upanishads in a one-sided way, postulating that the whole of reality is contained in that pure, absolute, eternal essence which is the Brahman. The Brahman is in its turn identical with the atman, that is to say the self (freed from those qualities of the not-self which experience imputes to it), difined as the feeling which makes you say "I am" or "I know." Apart from this identity, everything is mere appearance or "inferior knowledge," such as the knowledge expressed in prayer to gods. Thus the world if not wholly unreal, is at least inexplicable, unthinkable; it is an effect of maya, a kind of energy which alternately produces and reabsorbs all the forms, and which we know by virtue of a postulate. Corresponding to the maya of the external world, there is in the consciousness avidya, or ignorance, that force which makes us believe that the individual acts, enjoys and suffers, and that the soul experiences a personal immortality. In fact, the jiva, the "living" soul, which proceeds from the atman substance through four stages which follow one another in the inverse order to the four psychic states (waking, sleep with dreams, deep sleep, and the "fourth" state), loses all personality in nirvana. Nirvana is attained through a series of spiritual realisations, from which there results at last the "perfect vision," the awakening of the being which is finally merged in the Brahman.

This at least is the form of the Vedanta which found its complete expression in Sankara. In the majority of the later schools the jivas have personal immortality: they are "portions" of the Brahman, and achieve deliverance by entering into association or community with the Brahman, which they are enabled to do through bhakti.

It is in this way that Ramanuja starts out from a Brahman "with attributes," these attributes being the inanimate world and the totality of individual souls. It is defined positively as "made up of qualities infinite in number and excellence," knowable only by intuition. Maya is no more than a "marvellous power": the creation of the world, which is a change from the subtler to the grosser, does not affect the nature of the Brahman. The greater part of the propositions stated by Sankara are transformed in a realistic sense, which also shows itself at the epistemological level. As for Deliverance, it is a "clear vision" of the divine, obtained by a loving

effort of evocation: the individual soul enters into an "inseparable" unity with the Brahman.

THE DOCTRINE OF NIMBARKA

In the doctrine of Nimbarka the relation of the three eternal principles, the Brahman (here become God), matter and spirit, is expressed as one of "identity in difference." The individual soul, the jiva, is a "particle" of this triune principle: although an effect, it is itself eternal, and after being temporarily attracted by matter in the course of its human existence, it returns at Deliverance to its state of identity with the Brahman, an identity which is defined negatively as "the exclusion of all independence."

MADHAVA AND VALLABHA

In admitted contrast with the other Vedantic doctrines, Madhava initiated a strict dualism: on the one hand the Brahman-God, endowed with an infinite number of attributes; on the other everything which is external to the Brahman, including both the inert and the spiritual. The Brahman, the inert, the spiritual are eternally distinct each from the others; nevertheless the inert and the spiritual depend upon the Brahman, and the innumerable individual souls, which constitute the "spiritual," are an integral part of it. Deliverance, which consists in a preception of the "true form" of the Brahman, attained by reflection, preserves a "difference" between the Brahman and the soul which is united with it.

Vallabha is a defender of "pure non-dualism," that is to say, non-dualism without maya. The Brahman includes within itself the totality of forms. To it, the soul and matter are identical, with a real and concrete identity; all difference is due to the divine play; the theory of maya is "demonic." At the human level, the doctrine implies predestination, bordering upon a complete determinism. For the attainment of Deliverence, a doctrine of bhakti, later greatly elaborated, prevails over pure knowledge. The system is resolutely theocentric.

The Vaishnavite and Saivaite sects developed more or less modified Vedantic doctrines, mingled with items from the Samkhya. In this way the Vaishnavite Samhitas set forth a cosmogony of successive creations and of processes of expansion and condensation (vyuha) of Vishnu, from which result as many psychic manifestations as modes of Deliverance.

The Saivaism of the Agamas posits a "master" (Siva) and a Sakti, the latter being the cause of the bondage which res-

trains the *pasu,* that is to say the "cattle," the individual souls. But it is also the cause of their Deliverance, which is described as a theophany, an identification with Siva. Kashmir Saivaism builds an absolute monism on the basis of an evolutionary theory adapted from the classical Samkhya. Deliverance follows from a reversal of the evolutionary process which restores the soul to its original state, in which it is not differentiated from the supreme principle.

Tantrism also combines Samkhya ideas with the non-dualistic Vedanta, while speculations on the word deriving from the Mimamsist postulates play a part in it which is often fantastic; as for example the doctrines of the nada and the bindu, nasal resonance and its graphic representation, which animate the sacred formula and represent its Saktis. Equally fantastic is its physiology, with its system of channels conducting the breaths. As for Deliverance, it is a technique, basically that of an initiation, in which Yoga as an ascetic discipline and bhoga "enjoyment," combine to produce a "realisation" in a setting which may be highly symbolic or may on the contrary be intensely realistic. The symbolic rite of the ascent of the kundalini, for example (see above, p. 26), is intended to unite the bodily Sakti with Siva, and in this way abolishing the Siva-Sakti dualism, to reestablish the original unity to reverse the process of the creation of the world.

THE SAMKHYA

III. The Samkhya represents the opposite pole of Indian thought to the Vedanta. It is a rigid dualism of spirit and matter. On the one side is prakriti, "the (material) basis" of the world, the efficient and substantial cause of phenomena, which is a unity occupying all space, in which all things are reabsorbed. On the other is the purusha, the spirit, one in its essence but innumerable in its manifestations: a myriad of spiritual monads, without activity either internal or external, of which each one forms the Self of a living being. Matter, though fundamentally undifferentiated, contains three constituents called the guna, a kind of substance-quality, which combining in various proportions, produce the totality of physical and psychical phenomena: the sattva, luminous, the noble principle; the rajas, coloured, the passionate principle; the tamas, dark, the indifferent principle. It is the combination of spirit and matter (in which the guna are originally in equilibrium, and therefore inactive) which stimulates the guna, as a magnet attracts metal.

Thus the world issues from primitive matter by a mecha-

nistic evolution, in which there is no intervention by a god. The stages of this evolution are conceptual substance, the "material" substratum of knowledge and volition; then the self-feeling, from which derive the five powers of the senses and the five powers of action, and the mental sense which governs the external senses; and lastly the five "subtle particles," sound, touch, form, taste, smell. All these make up the "subtle," suprasensible body. The visible body consists of the five gross elements born from the subtle particles, ether, wind, fire, water and earth respectively.

The Samkhya, a pseudo-scientific scheme of explanation, has nevertheless been able to accommodate a theory of Deliverance. This consists in the severance of the connection—in any case more apparent than real—between spirit and matter. It is brought about by a recognition of their fundamental dissimilarity; matter then ceases to function, just as the dancer ceases to dance when the spectator no longer watches her. There follows a state which cannot be described, characterised by the independence and indeed absolute "isolation" of the soul.

THE YOGA

IV. The Yoga preserves the chief features of the Samkhya metaphysics; it only superposes upon them the idea of an omnipotent God beyond the grasp of matter. But Deliverance is obtainable by quite other means than in the Samkhya. It is necessary to subject oneself to a psycho-physiological discipline which sets in motion considerable powers: at the lowest level these have therapeutic value; then appear certain supernormal faculties, and at the highest level a spiritual concentration which is the equivalent of Deliverance.

At the basis of these operations lie a series of preliminary observances, positive and negative, "postures," "prolongation of the breathing," and "withdrawal of the senses." Then follow a succession of steps intended to neutralise the impressions of the senses, to "arrest the fluctuations of thought;" the "holding" of thought on a given point, concentrated meditation; and finally the supreme state called samadhi, "integration," a state beyond description, beyond individual consciousness, where the subject ceases to distinguish itself from the object. Samadhi leaves behind it certain "concretions" in the unconscious, which permanently enrich the being.

We have here a mystical technique at bottom materialistic in principle, which has established itself on the basis of duly attested speculations in the whole of Brahmanical India.

THE NYAYA AND THE VAISESHIKA

V. and VI. The Nyaya and the Vaiseshika are realistic theories with a normative tendency. The Vaiseshika is primarily a classification of the categories: the substances, nine in number, part material, part spiritual; the qualities, which number twenty-four; the modalities of motion, generality (or the "kind"), specificity (or difference), inherence, non-being. The account of the world is atomistic: the four elements, in the form of eternal, unchanging atoms, whose combinations however are transitory, compose all things. These indivisible atoms combine first in pairs and then in triads, which are visible particles such as the dust particles seen in sunbeams. The element air, for example, has sound for its special property; but sound is present only momentarily, at the point where it is produced: if it comes to be perceived by us, it is because before disappearing it has engendered round it other sounds which propagate themselves in the manner of a wave. The sense of sight is a fiery atom situated in the pupil of the eye and moving with infinite speed towards the object to be seen. Thought itself is momentary and local, but it leaves behind an "impression" capable of provoking memory.

THE THEORY OF DELIVERANCE

The theory of Deliverance takes account of this view of knowledge. Deliverance is the unconscious state of a pure soul, that is a soul freed from all qualities. In order to attain it, the understanding must be directed towards the suppression of suffering, and therefore towards the suppression of the other qualities, which all, directly or indirectly, tend to engender suffering.

The Nyaya is above all a dialectic and a theory of knowledge, though it also includes a theory of Deliverance. The basic assumptions are those of the Vaiseshika, but with a theistic addition: a God (of whose existence elaborate proofs are given) less creator than "overseer" of the cosmic process, and supervisor of karman. The Nyaya describes sixteen modes of valid reasoning. The sources of knowledge are perception, analogy, credible testimony (equivalent to revelation), and above all inference. A syllogism in five steps is set forth, of which the classical example is the following: there is fire on the mountain, because there is smoke; wherever there is smoke there is fire (as in the hearth); now there is smoke on the mountain, therefore there is fire. A necessary relation exists between the logical ground and the "thing to be prov-

ed," the first being co-extensive with the second. The logical ground must really be the attribute of the subject of the conclusion, but, still more important, the reasoning must have material truth: the ground being present in every instance where the consequence is present, and absent wherever it is absent. If not, it is an "apparent ground," from which it follows that the conclusion is false.

The materialistic doctrines, which played a more important part than would appear from the literature, admitted only sense perception as means of knowledge. It followed that they rejected the soul, and held that the living being comes to an end with the dissolution of the body, that the spiritual is an organic function, and that ultimately nothing exists but the four elements. Religion is a deception.

Early Buddhist speculation preserved and developed several of the central ideas of Indian thought, such as the dogma of transmigration and karman. Like the other Indian "systems", it is a doctrine of salvation, a salvation resting on the knowledge and profound realisation of certain truths, and on the representation of a hierarchical classification of phenomena (dharma), similar to that of the Samkhya-Yoga. But the basic postulate is that there is no permanent substance, no atman; the physical and psychical structures of all living beings consists of "masses" which are dissolved at death, but are formed again when, through the effect of karman, the individual who bore them returns to existence; they are permanently dissolved if the individual enters into nirvana. These "masses" are five in number: the bodily (the senses and their objects), feeling, perception-representation, unconscious predispositions (the substratum of karman), and finally knowledge. All being is resolved into a series of momentary existences: everything exists only for a moment, and is replaced the following moment by a kind of copy of itself: thus there are successive images born at a series of instants.

This speculation is supported by an original theory of causation, a causal connection with twelve members (pratityasamutpada). Finally, early Buddhism laid emphasis, far more definitely than Brahmanism, on the idea of suffering, and founded its whole ethic on the exploration of this problem.

THE SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE

Later Buddhism continued these general characteristics, which however it developed in diverse directions. The Sarvastivadins (Vaibhasika) admit the total reality of phenomena, the momentary manifestations resulting in a continuous

existence. External reality, unknowable in itself, impresses its forms on the mind, giving rise to various representations. The Sautrantika concede only partial reality to phenomena, a great number being purely conventional. The Vijnanavadin or Yogachara profess a completely idealistic doctrine: our consciousness is the only reality, the world is only the projection of our throught outside us; it is the primary ignorance which creates the elements of consciousness, whence thought takes its illusory representations and combines them with the help of latent impressions. The Sunyavadin or Madhyamika deny (or rather ignore, as being of the nature of the absolutely unknowable) any reality conjectured to lie behind phenomena: every concept contains within itself a core beyond the possibility of thought, which is sufficient proof that it rests on the void. A semi-idealist school, that of Dharmakirti, extended the Buddhist logic and epistemology on the model of the classical Nyaya. It gives the valid sources of knowledge as perception and inference, this being conducted by means of a syllogism of three members.

JAINISM

Jainism is, at least in its early period, a realism based on a dualo-pluralistic theory of the world, after the manner of Samkhya. On the one hand there is an infinity of spiritual monads, the jiva or "living"; on the other is the ajiva, ''non-living, composed of inactive elements, and in particular the atoms constituting matter (pudgala), which include the "psychic" atoms, which in turn include the atoms carrying the karman, which is represented as a subtle element penetrating the soul. A hundred and forty-eight varieties of karman are distinguished, together with a considerable number of combinations.

Deliverance consists in the elimination of the most fundamental cause of bad karman, that is religious error. Step by step the ascetic ascends through the fourteen stages of virtue, and is finally liberated from matter. The pure monad rises to the summit of the universe and there dwells blissful in its omniscience, taking no part in the process of events. Jainism elaborated highly complex systems of logic, ethics and cosmology.

CHAPTER I

CASTE

§1. *Dharma.* Indian society rests on *dharma.* This fundamental term was not yet in evidence in the Vedic era, where, side by side with other terms, it signified merely the sacrificial or cosmic order, and the actions which flow from it. In Brahmanism, *dharma* means the totality of norms which rule a man's conduct, and together with them, the totality of facts through which the norms are expressed. It includes what we should call ethics, religion with its more speculative outgrowths, and law. It is the "foundation statute" of India. Its source is the Veda.

In relation to the social domain, the word carries with it a large element of the contingent. We hear less of the "common" *dharma* (*samanyadharma*) than of the dharma proper to castes (*varna*) and to modes of life (*asrama*). We are told that it is binding in Aryavarta, the territory "where the Aryas evolved" (the Aryas being defined as those who adhere to *dharma*), where they are recommended to live, the territory bounded by the Himalayas, the Vindhya and the two oceans, or again, according to a narrower delimitation, on the east by Prayâga (Allahabad) and on the west by Vinasana (the place where the semi-mythical Saraswati disappeared). That is, says the *Vasettha-sutta* (I, 13), "the country where lives the black antelope", the emblem of the traditional sacrifice. By extension, every holy place, and every locality through which a sacred river passes, counts as Aryavarta.

Thus from the beginning essential differences were established among men according to their birth, their condition, and even their place of residence. The people of the fourth class (the *Sudra,* § 6) live, or may live, outside caste; still more so the outcastes (§ 7). Side by side with *dharma,* which has regard to the principal rules and the socio-religious structure, we find *achara* or *charitra* ("custom"), the practices proper to various regional, corporative and family groups: as in grammer, it is said that "good usage" or the "usage of cultivated persons" has authority. Social obligation is subject to capacity, to personal qualification; and the very nature of responsibility is variable.

Again we are told that in the primitive golden age *dharma* was inviolable, like a fact of nature, but in the evil ege (kali

yuga) in which we live its state has fallen; it can be disobeyed, and it needs always to be defended or re-established. Many of the actions or prescriptions to be found in the *Smriti* were proper, it is said, in ancient times when *dharma* retained its full prestige; our decadent epoch needs, according to the nature of the case, more indulgence or greater severity.

In one case the principles have ceased, at least in part, to be applied: that is the case of "distress" (apad). Using powers now obsolete, the king could then authorise social classes to infringe their rules. Brahmans could live as Kshatriyas or associate with men of low birth; Kshatriyas could practise agriculture or commerce. However just the principle, this idea of *apad* opened the way to breaches which clearly demonstrate the imperfection of the system.

§ 2. *Caste.* It is through caste that the abstract notion of *dharma* comes into contact with reality.

THE MYTH OF THE FOUR CLASSES

If the modern caste is defined as a closed hereditary group, more or less restricted in size, provided with the rudiments of an organisation and a jurisdiction, characterised by a group of duties and prohibitions, it can be said that the caste of ancient times, as it emerges in the literature, reflects this state of things only very partially. In the earliest stage of the tradition, in the hymns of the *Rigveda,* are to be found certain traces of a threefold division of social occupations (religious functions, political or military functions, and economic functions), but the word caste is not used: the term *varna,* "colour", refers to the racial distinction between the Arya and the Dasa, between the conquerers who carried the culture, and the dark-skinned aborigines. Territorial divisions were in evidence: village, clan, tribe, confederation. We have to come down as far as Book X (Hymn 90) before we find, in a cosmogonical context, the myth of the four classes born respectively from the mouth, the arms, the thighs and the feet of the Man of the primæval sacrifice, or as is said later, the Brahman. From that time on the notion of *varna* is asserted ever more definitely, at first concerning rights and duties at the religious level; later, in the degree that the literature extends in purview to profane affairs, we find social realities conforming to this classification.

But these groups are not castes: they are fluid agglomerations, without organisation or internal hierarchy, which only slowly and partially acquired the strict rules proper to castes. They are also called *jati,* from a word which means "birth", and this—not yet in use in this sense in Vedic—emphasises the

inborn, hereditary character of the membership, unless it relates to the smaller exogamic clans. The idea of *varna* and of *jāti* has such importance that it obtrudes in the classification of many objects, human, animal, and even inanimate, like wood and pearls.

There is no fifth class, says Manu (X, 4): the fifth class of the tantrists (*Mahanirvana Tantra,* VIII) results from the mixture of the other four. The first three delimit the sacerdotal domain, that which is specified by the neuter word *brahman*, that is "speculative formula", and then "power of the fomula, sacred power"; the political domain, the kshatra or imperium; and finally the domain of the "clans", that is the whole of the population subordinated to the two ruling classes who share the spiritual and temporal sovereignty. The fourth class is outside the system: these are the sudra (no doubt a term of ethnic origin), descendants of the Vedic Dasa, by contrast to the first three classes which are comprehended under the denomination Arya or dwija ("the twice born") (physical birth and birth by initiation; but the term is most often restricted to the Brahmans).

THE ARYAN CLASSES

These classes are defined by function: "To the Brahman," said Manu (I, 88 et seq). "He (God) assigned the duties of teaching and studying the Veda, of sacrificing for themselves and for others, of giving and receiving gifts; to the Kshatriya He assigned the duties of protecting the people, of giving, sacrificing and studying; to the Vaisya the duties of raising cattle, of giving, sacrificing and studying, of conducting trade, of lending money, of cultivating the soil; to the Sudra, finally, of serving the other three classes." Thus the "Aryan" classes have, on the one hand, similar religious rights, and on the other occupations which are distinct, but are described in fairly broad terms.

No rule of marriage is formulated with precision. According to the Sutras on domestic affairs, Arya must marry a first wife of rank equal to their own, but later marriages are free; some say that even marriage with a Sudra woman is legal for all (Parasara, 1, 4, 11). It is true that, more commonly, marriage with a Sudra woman is forbidden to Arya (or only to Brahmans), and that the rules tend later to become more rigorous. But the non-normative literature proves that mixed marriages took place in all periods, and indeed the theory has to recognise them in order to explain the "mixture" of castes.

The forbidden types of contact—as regards food in parti-

cular—are not clearly defined. No doubt there are strict rules as to impurity; but except in relation to the Sudra, they have little to do with caste: a Brāhman, says Gautama (XVII, 6), can take food in the house of any Ārya who is faithful to his duties.

Thus it cannot be said that the ancient society, in spite of the minute observances which it elaborated, ever succeeded in setting up a real organisation corresponding to the definition of caste.

§ 3. *The Brahman.* The Brahman is a far more diversified type of man than the treatises allowed. There is the "instructed" Brāhman, bearer of various degrees of knowledge, the officiant of the ancient type (ritvij), the domestric priest, the spiritual teacher (*guru*). At a very early period, there were the "seers" (*rishi*) of the hymns, and later theologians or ritualists, grouped together in "schools" as later in "sects". The body of ascetics, of many kinds, was recruited, no doubt, principally from among the Brahmans, though the priests attached to the temples in later times could be men of low caste. In some periods referred to in the Veda, and in the early Buddhist and epic periods, the most eminent function is that of the *purohita*, or one placed in charge, a kind of royal chaplain, half magician, half councillor, whose functions are in large part civil, and in particular judicial. Megasthenes describes the activities of those whom he calls "sophists" as limited to sacrifice and divination.

TYPES OF BRAHMANS

These are the respected types of Brahmans, those whose functions are in principle hereditary. The religious literature exalts the Brahman beyond measure, and does so the more readily because it is inspired if not written by him. He is the "creator of the world" (Manu, XI, 35), a "powerful god" (IX, 317). Even early Buddhism, which fought against his excessive pretensions, recognised his rights and qualifications, and it is not an accident that the formula of admission to the monastic order (*Mahavagga, Int.,*) includes a solemn eulogy of the Brahman, whose very name is used to designate the *arhat*.

The prerogatives of the Brahman are great, although variable according to the texts, and we do not know exactly how far, they appertained to a man who was false to his office. Apart from a general supremacy over the other classes—which was expressed in marks of precedence, special modes of salutation, and certain usages of language—the privilege was above all juridical. Brahmans were subjected to lighter penalties, and harm caused to them was punished more severely; they could not

be subjected to corporal punishment (although on this point the secular literature affords proof to the contrary); they had special rights in the matter of giving evidence, inheritance, and taxes. To a certain extent it can be said that they were exempt from the authority of the king, and that the spiritual power acquired by some among them placed them above the law.

But the literature, at least that of post-Vedic times, shows us Brahmans in all situations, without necessarily making this a cause of reproach. The normative texts are naturally most rigorous when, referring to Brahmans who, for example, are butchers, paid employees, actors, proprietors of gaming houses, etc., they ordain that such men must not be invited to funeral feasts. Manu refuses water to a Brahman "who hehaves like a cat or a heron" (VI, 192); but in another passage (IX, 319) he admits that a Brahman must be honoured even if he is given to undesirable occupations. The *Vassettha sutta* (III, 4) claims that in such a case not the man but the village in which he lives must be punished.

WHO ARE UNWORTHY BRAHMANS?

The literature mentions Brahmans who are agriculturists, cattle-breeders and merchants, and moreover the legitimacy of these occupations is discussed in the commentaries. In the epics there are military leaders of the first caste (Drona, Kripa, and others;) and Kautilya mentions Brahmanis acting as spies. Writers like to repeat the saying that it is conduct which distinguishes the man, not birth. The *Dasabrahmana Jataka* alludes to ten kinds of unworthy Brahmans, "such as physicians, servants, tax-collectors", etc., which recalls the brahmabandhu or pseudo-Brahmans of the Veda, and more exactly the ten classes of Atri (373 et seq). The discourse to Vasettha (*Sutta Nipata*, III, 9) is instructive in this regard. Geographical distinctions are made : the Jatakas exalt the Brahmans of the north, who we are told elsewhere speak the purest language ; some Vedic texts, on the other hand, seem to have a low opinion of those of Magadha. Even in the Brahmanical literature satirical touches are not lacking, and a writer as early as Apastamba (11, 14, 13) casts reflections upon the *srotriya*, that is the specialist in the Veda, when he compares him to a goat, as "the most libidinous of creatures". It is only necessary to recall the tales, the theatre (with its sympathetic but somewhat grotesque figure of the buffoon), and the sententious poetry. Chanakya mentions seven kinds of Brahmans.

If there is what amounts to a hierarchy within the class, there is no organisation. We have to come down to the time

of Sankara and his monks of Sringeri, with their principal bearing the title of "teacher of the world", before we meet the first monastic institution, but in this body, as among the unorganised ascetics of earlier times, the feeling of caste has been abolished.

THE KSHATRIYA

§4. *The Kshatriya.* The Kshatriya must originally have been the prince and his family, the vassals and entourage of the king, "the royal (person)", as the more ancient term *rajanya* indicates. He was the noble, destined by nature to a career of arms, before becoming more generally the warrior. In the Buddhist texts the "warrior" makes but few appearances. The fact that he occupies the second rank in the hierarchy does not in any way diminish his supremacy in those matters which are his special concern, in particular the State administration. In spite of their "pro-Brahman" slant, the Vedic texts sometimes place the two classes on the same level, while the Buddhist and Jain texts systematically place the Kshatriya above the Brahman. It has been claimed that the Upanishads show traces of the primacy of the second class. That is perhaps to go too far. It is probable that the power of the Brahmans was kept within bounds wherever and whenever there was strong military leadership or an extensive administrative system ; but it does not appear that the competition of the two powers ever degenerated into open struggle. The rivalry of the rishis Viswamitra and Vashistha has only symbolic significance.

In literature, the type is conventional and subject to few variations. The legend which relates how the Kshatriyas were destroyed by Parasurama perhaps reflects the actual transformation of this class. From the Gupta period onward, we notice the thirty-six clans of the Rajaputra take the place of the old noble families ; the names of these clans, the charters of nobility of the modern Rajputs, appear in the inscriptions from the time of Asoka. An interesting case is that of the Ugrà ("violent"), mentioned in ancient sources as near relatives of the king ; perhaps they were ancient independent chiefs, whom the treatises degrade to the level of mixed castes, offspring of Kshatriyas and Sudra wives.

The Kshatriya par excellence is the king : it is the attraction of the royal power which determines the main characteristics of the whole class.

THE VAISYA

§5. *The Vaisya.* The literature deals with the Vaisya rarely and it discusses few of their occupations. The status of the class is low : they are taxable, fit to be "eaten", liable to be oppressed at will, says a Vedic source (*Aitareya Brahmana,* VII, 29). The Vaisya, according to the *Mahabharata* (XII, 60, 25), "drinks the milk of one cow out of six, receives a couple of cows in a hundred, one seventh of the profits, one sixteenth of the horns and hoofs". If we are to believe such passages, he was as low in the economic scale as he certainly was in the social hierarchy. But the Buddhist texts give us quite a different picture. The Vaisya, it is true, are not often mentioned: in their place, and definitely less despised, we find *grihapati* or "masters of the house", whose sons live in the king's entourage, or again *kutumbika,* "sons of the family", rich merchants. The person most often mentioned is the *shetthi* (*sreshthin*), who may have the rank of a notable, a counsellor of the king or a treasurer representing trade at court (see §78): a *sreshthi-putra* is mentioned as early as the dramas discovered in *Turfan.* These terms have no caste connotation.

In fact, the greater number of honourable occupations which we come across are those of Vaisya: they performed all functions other than those of the priestly and royal offices. According to a Vedic text (*Sankhyayana Srauta Sutra*), even an important sacrifice such as the *Vajapeya* was open to them. It is in relation to them that we could hope, if the texts were more explicit, to grasp the real meaning of "caste".

THE SUDRA

§6. *The Sudra.* As for the Sudra, the servile class, if they really derive from the Dasa or Dasyu of Vedic times (see §2), they must have increased their numbers at an early period by accepting into their ranks poorer Aryas or those fallen on evil days from one cause or another. They are found in various callings, some regarded as low because of the impurity which attached to them, others merely because they implied a subordination de facto or de jure to higher occupations. The position of the Sudra is degraded: they have very few rights; they have no part, or almost none, in the rituals ; contact with them is impure ; and the very notion of impurity, fundamental in the psychology of caste, arises in relation to the Sudra (and women). Woe to the country in which the Sudra makes the laws: "it sinks like a cow in a bog" (Manu, VIII, 21); woe even to "the kingdom in which the Sudra are the majority" (Manu VIII. 22).

Nonetheless they are within the orbit of *dharma*: they have a right to justice, and they can eventually study, and can be present at private rites. The Purana and the Tantra are accessible to them: they are their Veda. History knows of Sudras who have become kings, which is indirectly confirmed by Manu (IV, 61): one of these, of doubtful historicity, it is true, bore the name of the caste, Sudraka. A difference is maintained between the Sudras attached to a family, and treated according to the services they render, and those who live independently.

The obligation of service, emphasised in the Smriti, is weakened in Kautilya (I,1), who allows them to follow occupations forming part of the general economy (*vartta*), such as those of artisans and actors.

Buddhism, which like Jainism admitted Sudras into the monastic order, proclaiming their equality with Brahmans (*Vajrachchhedika*), probably served by reaction to make the Brahmanical law on the subject even more severe: once Buddhism has disappeared, we hear more often of "good Sudras", and the later Nibandhas allow them certain advantages. Al Biruni hardly distinguishes them from Vaisyas.

§7. *The Outcastes.* Nothing very precise is laid down about the Outcastes, who nevertheless must at all periods have formed a considerable part of the population. The term paria(h) is modern, and is apt to be misleading; the term untouchable, though corresponding to an ancient reality, has no exact equivalent in antiquity. They spoke then of "last-born", and of people "away from the vessels (ritual or food)". Panini distinguishes between the excluded and the non-excluded Sudra, and the former category must correspond to our term outcaste. Thus we see the despised groups emerge, so to speak, from the undifferentiated totality of the Sudra, either because their occupation has degraded them, or because they have been subjected to degradation from the beginning. Both considerations apply to the Chandala, who are the most frequently mentioned of these categories. We are told of them that they live outside the community, that they carry distinctive signs, and that they dispose of corpses and act as executioners. They are mentioned already in the *Yajurveda*, and Fa-hian, in the 5th century, describes their condition. They are often associated with the *Svapacha* or "those who cook dogs". It is true that the Brahmanical theory places them, like so many others, among the "mixed" castes (see §8), and that occasionally they are mentioned in the texts without apparent disfavour: like

the Chandala girl who, at the beginning of *Kadambari,* is introduced into the presence of the king.

Among the "low-born" the Buddhist texts include the Pukkasa (Pulkasa), liquour-sellers or scavengers, the Nishada, hunters or fishermen—clearly a tribal name, the Vena (Vaina) who work in cane, and lastly the Rathakara or wheelwrights. The Ratha karas, however, were fairly high in the Vedic hierarchy, and Sabaraswamin (5th century?) (VI, 1, 50) recognises them as a group "hardly inferior to the Arya." Here we see the variability of tradition. It is possible that respectable occupations were degraded in the course of economic change.

Those who were truly "without caste" are the ascetics, who have "shaken off social bonds," as one of their names, *avadhuta* itself indicates. It need not be said that this segregation involves no disgrace.

MLECHCHHA

The term Mlechchha, which means barbarian, that is strictly splutter, refers to foreigners: foreigners to India, or rather, according to the texts, foreigners to that part of India ruled by the Brahmanical system.

§8. *The "Mixed"*. The theory of the four classes carries as its corollary the theory of the "mixture of classes" (*varnasamkara*). As has long been recognised, it is a fiction of the Brahmanical Smriti. It was necessary to find a compromise between a slightly articulated structure, the heritage of the Veda, and the facts, which compelled the admission of a more and more elaborate social subdivision. Somewhat clumsily, the theory tried to explain this multiplicity of divisions by imagining mixed unions. Such unions were not necessarily illegitimate, although Manu (VII, 353) says shortly that "the mixture of castes is born of adultery." This refers to marriages of the second order, such as are apt to occur in profusion if polygamy is allowed. The children born of these unions were considered "degraded" (*apasada*).

Some of these unions in which the woman was lower in rank than the man by one or more than one step were "in accordance with the natural order"; inferiority by one step was sometimes accepted as equality. The commonest names are the following: the *murdhabhisikta* born of a Brahman and a Kshatriya, the *ambastha* born of a Brahman and Vaisya, the *nishada* of a Brahman and a Sudra; further, the *mahishya* born of a Kshatriya and a Vaisya, the *ugra* (see §4)

born of a Kshatriya and a Sudra ; and finally the *karana* born of a Vaisya and a Sudra.

When the woman is of superior rank to the man, the union is said to be "against the hair". It is an inferior type of union, of which the offspring are by definition "without virtue or conduct" (*Vasishtha Dharmasutra*, XVII, 7), denied the right to inherit (*Vishnu Purana*, XV, 37), and assimilable to the *vratya* (see §9). The most common names are: the *suta*, born of a Kshatriya and a Brahmani, the *vaidehaka* born of a Vaisya and a Brahmani, the *chandala* (see §7) of a Sudra and a Brahmani ; the *magadha* of a Vaisya and a Kshatriya, the *Kshattri* of a Sudra and a Kshatriya ; finally the *ayogava* born of a Sudra and a Vaisya. The codes even lay down the names of the offspring of marriages between one and another of these "mixed" types. If to these are added the series of bastards born of couples of the same or unequal rank, and the descendants of *vratya*, the result is a total of about 130 names.

THE CHANDALA

Now the literature, from the *Yajurveda* onwards, knows the greater part of these names, whether as occupations or as the names of clans and some of them still occur as the names of modern castes. Undoubtedly there are among them some "outcastes", like the *Chandala*, who are, so to speak, promoted by being included among the "mixed" ; but far more often they are groups to which no discredit attaches. This is the case with the *Ugga* of Buddhism (the *Ugra* of the Brahmanical tradition), the *Suta* or chariot drivers, and the *Magadha* or bards, heralds (an ancient ethnic name) of the epics. The name *Ambastha*, associated in Manu with a medical function, is that of a clan whose only "fault" was to have lived in a region somewhat remote from the "central country" where the classical dharma prevailed. It is difficult to see in the Murdhabhisikta, "he who has received the (royal) anointing on the head" (or: "he who has consecrated himself king"?) anything else but the designation of a prince, showing at most that the caste of the mother has prevailed, so far as he is concerned, over that of the father.

An instructive case is that of the Kayastha, who appear relatively late in the literature (in the "recent" Smriti), and later still in epigraphy (8th century), as "writers" or "recorders" (judge's assessors and legal experts in *Mrichchhakatika*.) Their degradation to the rank of a mixed caste is due to abuses of which some among them were guilty, of which we find a pathetic account in the *Rajatarangini*.

A final point: the Smriti has nothing to say on the rules of behaviour proper to the "mixed". It lays down their employment in one word, not without a number of variations from one text to another. Kautilya (III,7) is hardly more precise when he concludes in these terms: "either their order of precedence is decided by the king, as also their mode of life. Or they are placed on the level of the Sudra, except the Chandala (who are in every respect outside the system)".

§9. The existence of social classes is confirmed by Megasthenes, who mentions seven groups: the philosophers or sophists (in whom we confidently recognise the Brahmans), the warriors, the peasants ; then some groups of herdsmen and hunters, workers and merchants, who may, at the professional level, have combined Vaisya and Sudra; and finally inspectors and counsellors, that is to say the king's servants. Although he talks of endogamy and invariable status (with the important reservation that anyone can become a sophist!), it is clear that Megasthenes did not observe a firmly established system of "four classes", and further that he did not know what a caste was.

RELIGIOUS ORIGIN OF SOCIAL CLASSES

We cannot hope to trace in detail the origin and development of these social classes. Their religious origin, which various considerations allow us to infer, would explain in particular the supremacy of the Brahmans. But in spite of the claims made for it, it does not account for the classical theory, which has regard first to profession, and then to tribal relations, and takes account of religion only as refracted through occupation or clan. Some groupings are clearly of religious origin: the *vratya* for example, whom the theory assigns to the position of a "mixed", although evidently aware of their peculiar character. The *vratya* were originally, it seems, a nomadic religious community with semiheretical practices, which the old ritual was compelled to reintegrate into orthodoxy (through the ceremony called vratyastoma); the *Atharva*, the extracanonical Veda, exalts them. They have been credited, through wrongly, with the authorship of the Upanishads and of Buddhism. The powerful clan of the Lichchhavi, the "nobles" of Magadha, are said to be their descendants, and through the Lichchhhavi, on the maternal side, the Guptas. We see how the Brahmanical system absorbed the most heterogeneous elements into itself.

It must be added that if religion contributed to harden primitive groupings into castes, the speculation which went with it must, on the other hand, have tended to relax the ri-

gour of these social divisions. For the doctrines of *samsara* and of *karman* (not to speak of the presence of an influential body of ascetics, nor of the influence of the Buddhist reform) militated against the idea of an invariable condition. In fact, some authors admit a raising or lowering of the social status after the fifth or the seventh generation. Manu says that a Sudra who lives a pure life will be reborn in a higher caste. Even during a man's lifetime, a grave fault could involve a fall (*patitatva*), that is to say a temporary or permanent loss of status, with a rite of excommunication, and for restoration of an expitatory rite. This is one of the basically religious features of the *varnadharma*. Readmission to caste is allowed on a larger scale in the more recent parts of the Smriti and in the Nibandhas: these permit the reinstatement of apostates, after penitances, just as at all times it was permissible to endow strangers with caste.

In general it may be said that the religious-speculative literature, wherever it claims to pass beyond the merely social domain, ignores "class": for example the well-known passage in the *Bhagavad Gita* (IX, 32), where Krishna offers the "supreme way" to men of low birth, or the statement of the *Sribhashya* (II, 3, 47) according to which caste is an "affair of the body" and has nothing to do with the real being.

It is often said that "caste" became increasingly rigorous between the beginning and the end of the Vedic epoch, that the "Buddhist period" saw a certain levelling of the hierarchy, while the Smriti shows us a new hardening of the system, between the Epic period and Kautilya (himself almost indifferent to the problem) on the one hand, and Yajnavalkya and his successors on the other, not to speak of the commentaries and digests which, here as elsewhere, went beyond the old sources and multiplied the prohibitions. The Puranas, for their part, seem to show a gradual "Brahmanisation", expressed in an extension of the prerogatives of the highest caste. But it must be said that nothing of all this gives us a real line of evolution. At every period from Vedic times onward we find infringement of the marriage laws. The Greeks refer to mixed marriages, and the matrimonial alliance between Seleukos and Chandragupta, which Strabo speaks of, implies recognition of the Greeks as a caste, to permit of their marriage with Indians. Nanda is said to have been the son of a barber and a courtesan. The birth of Samudragupta is obscure. In the Epics kings married Brahmanis, just as the Satavahana married Saka women. The Puranas list marriages between Kshatriyas and Sudras in the princely lines.

CHANGE OF CASTE

Moreover cases do occur, though rarely, of change of caste. The best known (but legendary?) is that of king Visvamitra, who was raised by his austerities to the rank of a Brahman.

It may be noted as generally true that the foreign dynasties, from the Indo-Greek to the Huna, vied with one another in their zeal to become Hindus ; several of these princes performed the *Asvamedha,* which implies that they had attained to the rank of Kshatriya.

An inscription at Nasik praises Gautamiputra Satakarni for having curbed the pretensions of the Kshatriyas (against whom, indeed, the whole dynasty struggled) and for having checked the mixture of castes. In the same way, under the Guptas, several monarchs devoted themselves to restoring an order the fragility of which is shown by many signs. The Puranas dwell in gloomy terms on the miseries of the *Kaliyuga,* the degradation of castes, the predominance of Sudra kings ; and even in mythical times we find King Vena, father of Prithu, who by his lewdness "confused the castes", that is, contracted illegal marriages. The *Mrichchhakatika,* the most realistic of the Sanskrit plays, affords evidence that the true social reality was competition and the reign of chance, which supports the inference to be drawn from the *Jatakas* (despite their compliance to the Brahmans), and accords with the Vedic texts which emphasise the opposition between the "eater" and the "eaten". How can we explain the extension of the Vedic culture to the east and the south, unless we admit a great deal of "Aryanisation", that is to say, admission to the higher castes of ever broader layers of the population?

THE ASRAMA LIFE

§10. *The Stages of Life.* The stages of life or *asrama* (the word properly means "exercise" and applies to ascetic practices) are an ordering of society from a point of view different from caste, and not without the possibility of conflict with it. It is a strictly religious phenomenon, which we shall not attempt to describe here. This division into asramas appears suddenly towards the end of the Vedic period (in the Dharmasutras and Upanishads), and the Greeks partially confirmed it when they distinguished Brahmanas and sarmanes (these no doubt to be recognised as Buddhist monks). It consists in the division of the life of all Aryas into four periods in an ascending order of merit: the stage of the student, that of the householder, that

of the anchorite, and finally that of the "renouncer". Undoubtedly there have been ascetics since the earliest times, and it is possible that the Rigveda already knew "renunciation". But that is not to say, as the theory declares, that these types of life were necessary stages. Here we have an attempt to fuse in orthodoxy two opposed conceptions, the doctrines of work and of asceticism, the secular life and the contemplative life. But in spite of the element of fiction attaching to it, the asrama system conveys the spirit of the Indian social order better than the caste system does: it emphasises that India is impregnated with religion, and illustrates that aspiration towards "deliverance" which is at the root of all Indian speculation.

CHAPTER II

THE FAMILY

§11. The family is defined by community of residence and meals ("those who live at the same fire", *Brihaspatismriti*, XXV, 6), by the enjoyment of common property, and still more by participation in the same rites: the five daily oblations which the eldest brother performs on the domestic altar. The family is a little society, in which the king is represented by the head, whom the members willingly accept as their *guru*, who represents it to the outer world, and (theoretically) disposes of its persons and goods ; he bears its patronymic (*gotra*), the juniors having the right, while he is alive, only to a derived name.

In its full form the family includes the parents, the children (except married daughters), brothers and brothers-in-law, ascendants, descendants and collaterals. To these must also be added hangers-on, servants, students, workers and slaves. Since the head cannot be compelled (at least in principle) to partition, and the sons, even if married, cannot be compelled to leave, what is called the patriarchal "joint family" or "great family" can attain to a great size, especially in view of early marriages, adoption and polygamy. The Sanskrit word for the family is *kula* or *kutumba*, the latter referring especially to the family in this broader sense.

Next to the head or father comes the eldest son, who has the first right to marry and to inherit, and conducts the commemorative rites. A paid administrator, a younger brother, or

the other parent, may be designated in case of the death of the head ; in the case of absence, illness or grave crime, it is the son who takes the first place.

The close organic if not legal bond which connects the members of the family is shown by the tendency to consider the son of any wife as also the son of her co-wives, the son of any brother as also the son of the other brothers: the *Ramayana* for example gives evidence of this tendency, at the same time as it shows the opposite tendency for the rival wife to procure favours for her son at the expense of his half-brothers. Palace revolutions have their origin in family quarrels, rendered the fiercer by the very rigidity of the Indian family system.

It has been assumed, though without much evidence, that in Vedic times the head of the family had absolute power. All that we know is that this power underwent progressive limitation as we come to later times. Its supreme expression is the indivisibility of the family property. Partition (*vibhaga*) of the property in fact marks the dissolution of the "great family."

PARTITION

§12. *Partition.* Partition takes place in principle during the lifetime of the head, when the sons (or at least the majority of them) are majors, and the mother expects to bear no more children. Considered preferable to the undivided state, and as "increasing the dharma", it is normally done on the initiative of the head. It is regarded as an undesirable development if the major sons leave the family while it is still undivided, whether demanding partition or abandoning the property. There are disputes on property which is not partitioned, either because of the way in which it is acquired, or because of its nature. Gifts made to individuals, and all or part of individual acquisitions, such as earnings of "(religious) knowledge" (*vidyadhana*), remain, according to the rule, distinct from the rest of the property. But the doctrine is variable: Manu (IX, 219) cites clothing among the objects excluded from partition, while Brihaspati (XXV, 81) supports the contrary opinion. The *Dayabhaga* code says that the members of a family may dispose of their shares even before the formal partition, and it extends this tolerance to widows.

But this very question of the rights of the widow is among the most controversial: must the sons wait for her death before they partition the property implying that she can administer it? The problem concerns the right of succession,

which completes and defines the rules of partition among living claimants, without modifying the economic position. We need only recall that the Vedic texts show acquaintaince with the principle of partition, and that the earliest record of it is found in the *Rigveda* (I, 70, 10): "Men share among themselves your (person, 0 Agni), as (the sons partition) the property of their aged father."

Any beneficiary of a partition may return to the group if he so desires: he is called the "returned (into the mass)" or the "re-united" (*samsrishtin*). Samsrishtins inherit among themselves in the absence of a male descendant, and the right of primogeniture is abolished. This singular provision, known since the time of Gautama, is subject to various restrictions; undoubtedly it fell into disuse at an early period.

THE RULES OF SUCCESSION

§13. *Succession.* The rules of succession are complex, and custom plays a great part in them. There is no testamentary disposition, (at least in any clear form), and division (*daya*) except in special cases is definitive. Religious and speculative influence is shown by many signs. The very principle of the right to inherit, is according to the *Dayabhaga* (quoting ancient authorities) determined by the religious qualification. While the *Mitakshara* regards it as a right from birth, the rival school (the Dayabhinga) holds that it begins at the moment of the father's death, that is to say, when the formal transmission of powers and the continuance of the male line are both effected.

The natural heirs are the major sons, born of legitimate unions, and their direct descendants to the fourth generation. The cases of illegitimate, adopted and posthumous sons are disputed. The grandsons of different fathers seem, on the evidence of *Yajnavalkya,* to benefit from a partition per stirpes and not per capita (as a group and not individually).

There exists a right of primogeniture, which however is far from being laid down absolutely or unanimously by the authorities. It is rare if not unknown in the Veda, and unknown in the ancient Buddhist sources. The Smriti refers more than once to an extra share of 1/20 in favour of the eldest son, and in the most ancient texts of the Smriti the mode of division even among sons shows that care was taken that agriculture should not suffer. According to *Baudhayana* (II, 3,9) the share due to the eldest son is an ox, a horse, a she-goat, a ewe, according as he is a Brahman, a Kshatriya, a Vaisya or a Sudra. Any advantage for the eldest son carries

with it corresponding duties. Certain authors allow a privilege to a son who distinguishes himself by his conduct or religious knowledge. This is evidently a case in which the will of the father could express itself with relative freedom.

If there are no children, the property passes to brothers and sons of brothers. But an authoritative text gives a complete list of heirs, which however has provoked disagreement at almost every point: "(in the absence of direct heirs, property devolves upon the following persons, in this order): the wife, the daughters, the two parents, the brothers, the sons of brothers, those "of the same gotra" (which seems to mean agnates), the bandhu (this certainly means cognates), the pupil, the fellow-disciple." (*Yajnavalkyasmirti,* II, 135).

SAPINDA

What remains most valid in this list is the distinction between direct relatives, who are called *sapinda,* and the group of other relatives, who inherit only in the absence of *sapinda,* the *sakulya.*

The ritual importance of the term *sapinda* is not in doubt: it is clearly shown by the *Dayabhaga,* though the *Mitakshara* prefers a purely speculative interpretation. The sapinda, those "associated in the offering of the pinda", are the series of three direct ascendants and descendants, who form with the deceased an intimate union, marked by the offering of a ball of rice or meat (*pinda*); this offering consecrates the title of "father" and establishes the religious lineage of the deceased, which in turn determines the succession: he who inherits offers the *pinda,* he who offers the *pinda* inherits. At least this is the ancient or ideal state of things. In fact the rules of succession deviated from this principle ; practices varied, and it is rather in the laws relating to marriage and to impurity that the principle of *sapinda* found its strictest application. The principal departure concerns the female line: a man does not inherit from female ascendants to whom, nevertheless, he offers the pinda.

§14. According to the greater part of the evidence, the widow does not inherit. It is significant that Manu does not speak of the rights of the widow. But the more recent authors admit some qualification of this principle, and the passage from *Yajnavalkya* quoted above (and II, 115 also) places the widow immediately after the natural heirs. He confines himself to remarking that she cannot take the initiative in bringing about a partition. *Brihaspati* eloquently upholds the rights of the widow without children (compare also *Kautilya,* III, 2).

As for daughters, who for a long time appear to have had rights only to personal possessions, their share in partition is stated in a confused manner. It is said that property descends to them only by title of usufruct. More generally they are granted the moral right to be supported by their brothers, who must also defray the cost of their marriage.

POLYGAMY

In the case of polygamy, account is taken of the order of precedence of the wives, and also as regards the sons, even the legitimate sons, account is taken of their "caste", so far as it is dependent on the position of the mother. And the "son of the daughter", that is the grandson of a man without male children, is assimilated to the lineage of his grandfather: he offers him the *pinda* and inherits.

Many other details are known. We may notice that there are a series of persons who are excluded from partition or from inheritance, either because of some bodily or mental defect (which destroys their religious qualification), or for some grave fault. There are discussions on the right of such persons to be maintained by the family, and on the transmission of the property which would have been theirs to their wives and children.

We must also notice the place given to parents who have left the family for spiritual quest. The Brahman anchorite or *vanaprastha* must partition his property (at least if he has not disposed of it for religious purposes) and his title to property disappears. On the other hand the Buddhist community administers the property of the *bhikshu,* who remains its proprietor. It is not subjected to any alienation ; but in the event of death, it passes, by an equal partition, to the present members of his community (this is the tetimony of *I-tsing*). It seems always to have been the accepted practice among the *bhikshus* to make particular bequests, and *Buddhaghosha,* who mentions this practice in order to condemn it, also refers to the possibility of bequests among the laity, which in view of the silence of the Hindu law on the subject, is instructive.

In the absence of heirs, property escheats to the king. However, the practice was subject to variation, (see §62), and it is admitted that the property of Brahmans cannot be seized: "They kill (him who seizes it), together with his sons and grandsons, although poison kills only the man (who takes it)" (*Baudhayana,* I, 11, 16).

STRIDHANA

§ 15. *Stridhana.* Property of certain kinds forms stridhana, "the property of the woman": the property which she has

received as dowry (*sulka*), as presents (*yautaka*) or otherwise, and eventually that which she has "acquired by her own work" (*Mahanirvanatantra*, XII, 25). Kautilya (III, 2) defines it briefly as "cost of maintenance and things attached (to the body, *i.e.*, clothes and jewels)", and fixes the limit of its value at 2,000 *pana* (3,000 in the epics). Immovable property seems to be entirely excluded. The interesting fact about this special kind of property is that the woman can dispose of it freely; it is exempt from the control of the husband and the natural heirs, and passes by right to the daughters according to complex rules which take into account the "class" of the marriage, the origin of the stridhana, and the usages of this or that school, etc. According to certain texts, stridhana passes to the children in general, but it is obvious that the best founded law is that which maintains the succession in the female line. There are reservations in the case of women who have at least two sons, and in the case of her remarriage ; and according to Kautilya gifts made by the husband can be claimed by him. Signs of this practice have been looked for, and it is believed have been found, in the Veda.

CLASSIFICATION OF MARRIAGE

§ 16. *Marriage.* Since the Grihyasutras, the Brahmanical theory recognises a classification of marriage (*vivaha*) into eight forms in order of merit. The order and the names are not entirely invariable ; the epics differ appreciably from other sources; but in all the teaching is well established, and evidently reflects a series of real practices. The first four modes are the "regular" types, which bring spiritual merit to those who adopt them and confer liberation on a stated number of generations. There is first the "Brahma" marriage, the most noble of all, the ideal Brahmanical type, in which the young woman, duly "prepared", that is provided with a dowry, is given by her father to a man of equal caste, of pure conduct, and "versed in the Veda". Then there is the marriage "of the Gods", ((Doiva) in which the girl is given to the officiating priest, as if she were part of the ritual fee which Vedic tradition raised to the level of an institution, and in which at various times women were included. In the marriage "of Prajapati" (Prajapatya) she is given purely and simply, that is to say without contract or dowry. In the marriage "of the Rishis" (Arsa) the fiance makes a gift to the father of the girl of a cow and a bull (or property of a similar kind): without doubt a disguised purchase.

In contrast to these regular forms are the low forms, of

which the two last are even expressly forbidden, or according to some, confined to people of despised castes. The first of these is the marriage "of the Asuras", (Asura) which consists in a price, this time undisguised, paid by the fiance to the girl's father. The marriage "of the Gandharvas" (Gandhravâ) is a "secret" union by mutual consent. The type called "of the Rakshasas" consists in an abduction, eventually accompanied by a combat. Finally that "of the Paisachas" is nothing but a rape. The same names are found in other classifications, medical, literary, etc.

Taken broadly, this series is founded on a triple division which may in origin have arisen from the divergent usages of the three social classes: the religious marriage for the Brahmans, the marriage by capture for the warriors, and the marriage by purchase for the ordinary people. Indications of this are not lacking in the literature. The epics, for example, show a considerable number of cases of abduction, which may be followed by the performance of the normal rites: even in the marriage ceremony, two or three episodes are explicable only as survivals of abduction, and in the Vedic hymns we get an allusion to the daughter of Purumitra who was ravished by Vimada.

Next to the Gandharva marriage, which was a simple legislation of a fact, and the excellence of which is emphasised, as was to be expected, by the *Kamasastra,* the commonest form must have been marriage by purchase. There is evidence of it in the Veda (even if we do not give too much credence to the tendentious story of Sunahsepa); and it is confirmed by Megasthenes, who mentions as the price a couple of oxen, as in the Smriti. Strabo knows some more complex customs, which however are based on purchase, prevailing at Taxila, while Arrian maintains that the Indians do not buy their wives or sell their daughters. The term *sulka,* which ultimately designates the dowry and the wife's personal property, originally meant the purchase price. It is possible that this change of meaning took place in different ways in different regions, for the Smriti speaks of it with marked disapproval: "Even a Sudra must not accept money when he gives his daughter: if he does so, it is a disguised sale." (Manu, IX, 98).

AN OBSOLETE MODE OF MARRIAGE

§17. *The Swayamvara.* The swayamvara is not listed among the eight modes of marriage, either because it was obsolete, or because it was considered a preliminary condition of marriage rather than an independent form. It is a "free choice" made

by the young woman. The father summons the suitors to a ceremonious reception, and the girl makes her choice, placing a garland round the neck of the man she favours. The literature describes the famous cases of Savitri and of Sita in the epics, and of Indumati in the *Raghuvamsa*; but the best known is that of Damayanti in the episode of Nala, which is told over again in an extraordinarily forceful narrative in the *Naishadhacharita*. The treatises are not ignorant of the swayamvara (as the *Kadambari*, tr. Ridding, p. 180, reminds us), but they restrict it to the case of a girl who has not been married within the prescribed time.

It is a Kshatriya custom, and the attempt has often been made, but without any necessity, to explain it as a non Aryan institution. In fact, even if the cases mentioned in the *Jataka* are rejected, its derivation from Vedic origins remains probable. Epigraphy shows it in existence at various periods, but always as a rarity ; under the Guptas, for example, no instance is known. At a later date there is that of Vikramaditya (Chalukya) and Chandralekha, narrated at great length in the *Vikramankadevacharita* of Bilhana.

The swayamvara permitted of abduction: such a case was that of Subhadra, who was carried off by Arjuna "in the manner of the warriors" (*Mahabharata*); it also might include a tournament, at the end of which the girl chose the strongest, the bravest, or the best archer (Draupadi). But normally either abduction or a tournament would do away with her "free choice", and the girl is simply the "prize of valour". This type of test is known to Arrian (who speaks of gymnastic games) and to Strabo.

§ 18. *Polygamy*. Polygamy (strictly polygyny) is regulated by the codes in a rigid and naive manner: the Sudra can marry a Sudra; the Vaishya has a right to a Vaishya wife first, and then a Sudra; the Kshatriya may marry three wives, a Kshatriya, a Vaishya and a Sudra ; the Brahman can marry from each of the four classes in order. These rules, which are not without variants, are a mere caricature of the realities. It remains true however that polygamy was widespread in ancient India, less perhaps because of the desire to have many children, as Megasthenes thinks, than from a religious motive, viz., to assure a male heir. It was a developed institution especially among the Kshatriyas; as the *Kathasaritsagara* says (XLIX, 208), "a poor man has difficulty in keeping one wife, what to say of many?" But the *Kamasastra* shows that it was practised in bourgeois families, and sets forth its advantages. Probably it often degenerated into simple concubinage.

Among the Kshatriya it is the king who was the polygamist par excellence, and the ancient ritual texts mention the four royal wives whose religious role appears in the horse sacrifice. The principal wife Mahishi or "she buffalo" is the first married and of the highest caste ; then follow the favourite, the "discarded" (because she has no son?), and finally the "messenger" (daughter of the last of the courtiers). We cannot attach any importance to the sixteen wives of king Mahasena (*Svapnavasavadatta*, VI, 9); as to the numerical fantasies found in the legends of Krishna and of Buddha, they are of interest only as indirectly confirming the existence of the practice, the real prevalence of which is difficult to estimate. For the Brahmans, we know the example of Yajnavalkya and his two wives (*Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*). There are allusions to it in the Vedic Samhitas, and in a passage in the *Satapatha Brahmana* (IX, 4, 1, 6) there is the outline of a fable explaining its origin.

The literature often describes the unenviable fate of wives who have been "over-married", that is to say, lowered in status by the later marriage of their husband. The codes have tried to lessen the hardships of this supersession ; they authorise it in case of sterility or bearing only female children (for "wives, it is said, are there to bring sons into the world"), but at the same time lay down the principle of compensation to the superseded wife. Kautilya (III, 2) says that a husband should wait eight or twelve years before contracting a second marriage. On the other hand, the Sanskrit dramas show us, in royal families, a state of things in which the second wife is placed almost on the level of the first, without implying any loss of status for the first.

Polyandry is hardly known except by the certainly very striking case of Draupadi (*Mahabharata*), who is asked in marriage by five brothers "in accordance with the ancient custom of the Pandavas". Thus it is a phratrogamy, a group marriage of an archaic type; the editors of the epic are aware of its strangeness and invent various explanations. According to another passage in the *Mahabharata* (II, 31), the women of the kingdom of Mahishmati choose several husbands for themselves: the example of princess Kanha in one of the *jataka* stories is no doubt an echo from the epic. As to the oft-quoted passage (Apastamba, II, 27, 3) which states that the wife is given to the family (of her husband, not to the husband himself), its reference is to *niyoga* (see §23), not to polyandry.

§19. *Age of Marriage*. Marriage as the "basis of social life" (Kautilya, III, 2), a matter of great importance ("to give a

thousand draught oxen to a worthy man is equal to giving a girl", *Vasishtha Dharmasutra,* XXIX, 18), is by that very fact subjected to strict rules and prohibitions. It must take place as soon as the girl reaches puberty, or the father or guardian commits a grave fault. If he finds a good bridegroom, the father may give her even before puberty, when she is still a "little girl who goes naked" (*nagnika*).

CHILD MARRIAGES

In this way child marriages, or at least marriages in which the girl has definitely not yet attained puberty come to be considered legitimate. The ratio normally laid down is that the age of the girl is one third of that of the man, but if this proportion is generally maintained, the age itself falls as we pass from a more ancient to a more recent Smriti, without however falling (save in exceptional cases) below six years for the girl. This is the age which Megasthenes mentions as the age of marriage of the girls of the tribe of Pandæa.

Certain economic advantages may have given support to this usage, apart from any anxiety to conform to the theory; but a number of indications suggest that is was not generally observed. The medical and erotic texts, more concerned with eugenic considerations than the Smriti, recommend adult marriage; Kautilya (discussing marriage, III, 3), gives as the ages in the majority of cases 12 years for the girl and 16 for the boy (while Manu adheres to the figures 8 and 24, or 12 and 30). The *Jataka* stories usually give 16 as the age of the woman, and the romantic literature after the epic period seems not to know of child marriage: Vasavadatta, in the play of the same name, is "about eighteen." The Vedic texts do not give us any definite data one way or the other.

Child wives live with their parents until puberty, and special rules apply to them.

INTER-CASTE MARRIAGES

§20. *Prohibitions relating to Marriage.* Marriage is surrounded by restrictions of all kinds, for the most part of religious origin. There is first of all the barrier of caste (see § 2 and § 9): summing up, we may say that inter-caste marriages are far from being condemned by the older Smritis as they are in the Middle Ages (when, in particular, Brahmans could marry only women of their own caste); that the very diversity of the rules points to a fluctuating usage; that the literature and epigraphy show a considerable number of mixed unions at all periods; and that even marriages between Dwija and Sudra, since they were particularly disgraceful, can

never have been unknown, and must no doubt have increased in number, at least in the course of the first millennium of our era.

THE RIGHT OF THE FIRST BORN

A fairly strict rule concerns the right of the first born: the younger brother may not marry before the elder (there is an identical rule, perhaps less strictly enforced, for girls); a fictitious marriage could always get round the difficulty. Known since the Veda, this rule goes together with the privilege of the first-born in regard to inheritance, and may be partly explained by the exorbitant cost of the marriage ceremonies and the endowments which followed them.

Considerations which may be eugenic, but are more often purely and simply magical, govern the theory of the physical signs, visible or invisible, which duly interpreted, if necessary by occult methods, allow or forbid a man to court a woman who possesses them. These signs include even the form of the name, to which is attributed good or evil omen. It is an instance of the great importance which Indians attach to anything, in whatever domain it may be, which can be regarded as a sign or a thing signified.

It is necessary that the woman should be a virgin, which in particular excludes widows. In fact the remarriage of widows is normally allowed only in the case, which is of frequent occurrence, in which the first marriage has not been consummated. This is apart from the question of *niyoga* (see § 23). Certain authors, such as Kautilya, were more liberal.

The greater number of authors allow remarriage if the husband has been away in a distant place for a long period, the period required varying according to the motive of his going, according to caste, and according as there are or are no children. The husband's departure to lead an ascetic life is not a ground for dissolution of the marriage, but if certain conditions are fulfilled it may authorise the wife to contract a second marriage; on the other hand, the Buddhist monk, whose vows are temporary, retained his rights over his "old partner." In the absence of her husband, the wife must live a life of penitence which is not very different from that of a widow.

The husband's right, originally no doubt absolute, to repudiate his wife, was later limited; it is retained in case of grave fault, and according to certain authors this is one of the cases in which remarriage is allowed. The wife who has been repudiated must be supported by the family, or by the

State. Kautilya (II, 23) provides workshops for the support of women who have no natural protectors.

As to divorce, the strict texts refuse this right to the wife; at least this is the conclusion to be drawn from a text like Manu (IX, 79) where a wife of a mad man, an outcaste, a eunuch, and others, is denied the right. But a passage in Kautilya (III, 3) allowing separation by agreement for people married according to any of the four "low" forms, and a text of Narada (XII, 97) laying down five cases of legal necessity which justify the remarriage of a woman, permit us to suppose that in certain conditions the wife could initiate a separation.

EXOGAMY

§21. *Exogamy.* The binding rule is that of exogamy, in evidence since the time of the Grihyasutras, and going back, no doubt, to a very ancient division of society into exogamous clans. This rule is expressed at first in terms of kinship, and here we find the conception of *sapinda,* which we have met with in connection with inheritance (§ 13). Sapindas are the six ascendants including the father, and six descendants including the son, in the male line; and four in the female line. A man may not marry a woman related to him in the direct line so far as the seventh generation on the paternal side, and the fifth on the maternal side. This practice can never have been followed strictly. Regional variations are to be noticed at an early period, and the normative texts are in conflict one with another on the limits and even the content of the notion of *sapinda.* In the Vedic era the *Satapatha Brahmana* (I, 8, 3, 6) authorises the marriage of persons related in the fourth and even the third generation. Certain Dharmasutras specifically condemn the marriage of a man with the daughter of his maternal uncle or of his paternal aunt (Apastamba, I, 21, 8), or what comes to the same thing, confine this usage to the South (Baudhayana, I, 2, 3). This type of marriage, which became the subject of a controversy in the Mimamsa, is exemplified in the epics (Rukmini and Krishna, Subhadra and Arjuna), in epigraphy (for example at Nagarjunikonda. IIIes.); and the marriage of a half brother and sister occurs in the *Udaya Jataka.*

GOTRA

A question connected with this, and much discussed, is that of *gotra.* The word, of which the primary sense is "cow-pen," refers to a spiritual relationship, the filiation of the family to one or another of a group of mythical or semi-

mythical personages, among whom the first places are occupied by the "seven great Rishis" of the Vedic tradition, Gautama, Bharadwaja, Viswamitra, Jamadagni, Vasishtha, Kashyapa, and Atri, and then the sage Agastya. This relationship plays some part in the funeral rites; as relating to marriage it is mentioned from the time of the domestic Sutras and in all the Smritis includnig Kautilya, not however without some discrepancies. In course of time the eponymous ancestors multipiled from seven or eight to forty-nine, and eventually to several thousands, by a process of fragmentation similar to that which led from *varna* to caste. Buddhism and Jainism accepted the theory of *gotra*, and if the Buddha allowed himself to be addressed as Gautama, it was because the Sakya considered themselves descendants of the Rishi Gautama. It may be said that the gotra relationship was felt in a large measure as a real relationship. Perhaps, it was so for certain Brahman families, and it is the Brahmans from whom the whole theory emanated. Is it not admitted that among the Kshatriya and the Vaishya, the gotra which really matters is that of the family priest who acts in their name?

As to its bearing on marriage, the prohibition on marrying within the gotra is often weakened; there are endogamous gotras, such as the Bhargava and the Angirasa. It is conceded, at least in recent times, that a marriage contracted in good faith is valid. The question is discussed whether a woman necessarily loses her gotra when she marries, and whether an adopted son may marry the daughter of his new father if the gotra is the same. Certain texts seek to strengthen the prohibitions, decreeing for example that a man may not marry a woman whose mother had by birth the same gotra as he. But more often the term gotra loses its precise meaning and merges with the notion of simple relationship. A term of similar purport, *pravara*, has more completely preserved its ritual origin: it is the invocation to Agni made by the officiating priest enumerating the names of the ancestral Rishis who are recalled by the patron of the sacrifice, and by consequence the group of ancestors, usually three for each gotra, are mentioned in this invocation. The "relationship" of pravara also, in theory, involves a prohibition of marriage.

SATI

§ 22. *Sati*. An indirect consequence of polygamy is the custom of the "voluntary" death of widows, who followed their husband on to the funeral pyre. The Veda contains no explicit mention of this custom, which is called *sati*, a word

which properly means "the faithful wife." But a symbolical rite which can be inferred from the purport of a funeral hymn of the *Rigveda* (X, 18, 7 et seq) suggests that the custom existed in pre-Vedic India; in modern times the attempt has been made to introduce a more express mention of it on the strength of this text.

However that may be, sati, unknown in the Buddhist sources and in Kautilya (the supposed allusion to it, IV, 7 end, is in no way decisive) appears in a sporadic fashion in passages, which however may be "recent," in the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana;* it is incorporated in the Smriti from the time of the *Laws of Vishnu,* and illustrated in the literature with increasing frequency. It is mentioned in the *Kumarasambhava,* the *Kamasutra,* the *Harshacharita.* The earliest commemorative pillar is of date A.D. 510, at Eran. Among our Greek sources, Strabo and Diodorus give account of it as applying to the Kathaioi: perhaps it was a custom of the West?

Many texts condemn it: an eloquent denunciation is that of the *Kadambari* (tr. Ridding, p. 68); others at least surround it with reservations. It is considered improper for wodows of Brahmans, for pregnant women, and for mothers of young children. The sects which tend to exalt the woman declare themselves opposed to sati—in general the Sivaites and the Tantrists.

The custom appears to have arisen among the Kshatriyas, as the epics indeed inform us. But it was looked upon as a ritual and was performed as such, with accessories derived from human sacrifice. There is a quite moving literary description of it in the *Rajatarangini* (the death of queen Suryamati).

WIDOWS AND NIYOGA

§ 23. *Widows and Niyoga.* The widow who chooses to live is placed under the control of her sons, or in the absence of sons, of her husband's family. Her legal position is lowered, and she is expected to lead a chaste life and to follow certain ascetic practices. It is undeniable that the state of the widow was looked upon with a certain aversion, and in the *Jatakas* the term vidhavaputta, "son of a widow," is an insult. But there is hardly any trace in the ancient literature of the somewhat barbarous treatment of widows described by certain modern authors. The *Harshacharita* (tr., p. 195) speaks of widows with unadorned faces and hair tied in knots, though tonsure is prescribed only in a probably late passage in the

Skandapurana. Several texts limit themselves to recommending an asceticism to which the widow gives free assent.

What is almost unanimously condemned as disgraceful is the widow who leaves the family and remarries at her own pleasure. She is a *punarbhu* ("she who returns to life"), an ambiguous term which has acquired a disparaging sense already in the Veda, and is applied to other kinds of emancipated women, *svairini* or "women living as they please," and *didhisu*, "women who court men." Sons of *punarbhu* belong to despised castes. It has sometimes been supposed that a passage in the *Atharvaveda* (IX, 5, 27) refers to the remarriage of widows. Certainly the more recent Smritis tend increasingly to limit it, even in cases where, as we have seen (§ 20), older authors allow it.

Niyoga. One of these exceptional cases is of a very special nature: that is *niyoga*, or "appointing." The family of the deceased "orders" a widow who has no male child to unite with the nearest relative, in principle her brother-in-law, in order to ensure the continuance of the family. In the absence of a relative, union with a stranger chosen by the family, or with a Brahman, is allowed. The son of this union, "he who is born in the (maternal) field," is regarded as the son of the deceased, or as is sometimes said, the "son of two fathers."

A continuance of the ancient custom of the levirate, *niyoga* is probably an outcome of the rules in regard to succession and the speculations to which they gave rise. It is perhaps referred to in a passage in the *Rigveda* (X, 40, 2), and is noticed in the *Mahabharata* (the widows of Vichitravirya with Vyasa). It is by an extension of niyoga that the sons of Pandu are said to have been begotten, not by their father but by the gods "in his name." Such extension is legalised by the codes, which at an early date allow the substitution of a near relative for a husband who is impotent, gravely ill, or for any other reason unable to procreate.

Attempts were made from an early period to restrict this usage, by making it conditional upon difficult observances and multiplying precautions. Undoubtedly there is to be seen a certain mistrust of what Manu calls "a law of animals" (IX, 66). Brihaspati formally condemns it. In fact it disappeared after the 6th century, and there is no need to ascribe to *niyoga* the marriage (portrayed in the drama *Devichandragupta*) of Chandragupta II with his brother's widow.

TWELVE KINDS OF SONS

§24. *The Sons.* The literature insists on the importance of the succession: "Women are created for the propagation of the species" (*Naradasmriti,* XII, 19). And the important succession is made. The son (putra) saves from hell, it is said, and in support is advanced a piece of pesudo-etymology (put-tra). The necessity of fixing the rights of succession, and of participation in the funeral ceremonies, reasons as much religious as economic, led the Treaties on to a classification of "twelve kinds of sons," which despite its arbitrary nature preserves valuable information on social realities. Thus we can distinguish (not without variations of detail), in descending order:

The son "born of the (paternal) lap" (*aurasa*), or legitimate son, the only son with full rights; the son born of *niyoga* (§ 23) the son of the *putrika,* that is to say of the "girl": it is he who, born of a girl without brothers, is treated as the son of his maternal grandfather, with the curious corollary that the said girl (at least while her male children are still minors) may herself be treated as a son and enjoy the rights pertaining to that title. Hence the common recommendation (known since Vedic times) not to marry a girl without brothers, whose son will not continue the father's line.

Next follows the son of widow (remarried in conditions considered allowable). The "son of a young girl" who later marries another man: he is counted as belonging sometimes to his maternal grandfather, sometimes to his mother's husband. The son of a woman married when she is already pregnant. These six categories are "inheritors." The following six establish only relationships, without right of inheritance: the adulterine son ("born in the house of another" or "son of a crow," or again the "pot," a term which ought rightly to apply to the adopted son). Then the son adopted in youth; the son adopted as an adult; the son who gives himself (to a new family). Lastly the "rejected" son (by his own family); and the "purchased" son.

The literature supplies diverse evidence on these groups. A famous example of the purchased son is that of the young Brahman. Sunahsepah, sold by his father for the price of a hundred cows (a price which was raised greatly in the more recent texts) to prince Rohita, to be sacrificed in his place. The story is found as early as the Brahmanas. As to the putrika, it is above all the example of Chitrangada, the wife of Arjuna, which has preserved the memory of this type of son.

ADOPTION

Adoption is one of the questions which the recent Smritis have studied most closely; but if systematisation came later, its origins are ancient. The adopted (or "artificial," *kritaka*, or "given," *dattaka*) son enters his new family by means of a rite performed with some solemnity; the gift takes place before witnesses, and the adopted one in principle loses his *gotra* (§ 21) and takes that of his second father. Detailed rules are given regarding caste, age and relationsihp. We need only mention that if the adopted son loses his brothers, he resumes his right to the heritage of his old family and becomes a "bearer of a double ancestry."

In the *Mahabharata*, Pritha is sent by her own father to Kuntibhoja who, being without children, takes place of her father; she is then given the name Kunti. Adoption satisfied some religious requirements (the anxiety to have a son; the adoption of a daughter is rarely mentioned) as well as economic needs. It is felt as an obligation, and though the adopted child is given a low place in the classification of the twelve sons, it is a "substitute" as the theory says, identical in nature with the original, a kind of magical creation of a real child.

THE WOMAN

§25. *The Woman.* We have seen various aspects of the preponderance of male interests in the juridical and legal notion of the family. Thus the son belongs to him who begot him, not to his mother; the only doubtful question is, in the case of remarriage of the mother, whether he belongs to the "owner of the field" (the second husband), or to the "owner of the seed." From the point of view of caste, despite the tendency to lower the caste of the offspring of unequal unions, the son of a Brahman and any other Arya whatever is in practice treated as a Brahman (see *Mahabharata*, XII, 47, 17); it is sometimes said plainly that it is the descent of the father which decides (*Bhaddasala Jataka*). But according to the *Ambattha Sutta*, the sons of a Kshatriya and a Brahmani are treated as Brahmans, like those of a Brahman and a Kshatriya woman; whence the suttakara draws the conclusion that the Kshatriya are harder to please than their rivals, and are therefore superior.

The position of the woman varies greatly according to the nature of the text. All agree in exalting the mother, even above the father on the plane of sentiment; she is "the highest of all the gurus" (*Mahabharata*, I, 188,15). The wife

also is often given a high place: they take literally what for us is only a form of words, that she is the "half" of the man to whom she is married; it is true that this respect may be tendentious, as in Brihaspati, where it serves as a preliminary to a defence of sati. But the dominant impression is one of real respect. How would it have been possible to invent figures so noble as Savitri and Sita, and not less pure but more imperious, Draupadi, among a people who had no appreciation of the quality of woman or of the grandeur of her mission? Moreover there were women poets (the anthologies prove it), artists, warriors (there is Greek evidence on this point), and theologians (in the Upanishads); some queens, at least after the Guptas; some ascetics (in the *Jatakas*): Kautilya (II, 1) forbids the granting of permission (or compulsion?) to women to become ascetics. In Buddhism and Jainism the nuns have almost the same status as the monks. From Vedic times come the names of some Rishis or "seers" who are women; the Vedic wife had ritual prerogatives, which were probably maintained for some time, since there is epigraphic evidence of the participation of women in certain solemn rites. The maxim "women are without power" has primarily a juridical significance.

On the other hand, sententious poetry abounds in more or less sharp criticisms of women and their vices, in disquisitions on the necessity of keeping an eye on them, and in laments over descent in the female line: of the complaints of Matali in the *Mahabharata,* and the terse remark of the Rigveda: "women have the hearts of hyenas". While Diodorus exalts the chastity of Indian women, Strabo (Megasthenes) admits that they prostitute themselves unless they are constrained to be virtuous; and Arrian seems to have held that opinion with slight qualifications. For all that we can discover, the dislike of daughters seems never to have led to infanticide, whatever the Greeks and those who follow them may have said.

The woman who is forgetful of her duties is punished more severely than the man: the adulteress is subject to frightful punishment, even if the husband has consented. Outrage upon women is forbidden, but it is often added that the victim must undergo penance and be separated for a time from the community. On this point in particular, doctrine became gradually more rigorous.

We have referred to the fate of the widow. The unmarried woman is regarded with disfavour. For pregnant women, magical and religious ideas combine to buttress the practices of

purification and segregation. It may be said generally that the ideas of impurity crystallised round the woman.

The free woman living in concubinage is more or less excluded from society. It is the more remarkable that this disgrace does not attach to the prostitute, or at least to certain types of prostitute, as we shall see (§77). The law is severe upon those who break away from the norm, but a situation established so to speak by birth, and without actual breach of caste, does not involve reprobation.

The Kamashastra, which deals with a different department of dharma from the Smriti, regards as natural many modes of life which the Smriti condemns: thus the *punarbhu* or remarried widow (§23) enjoys a special degree of liberty, which confirms indirectly the strictness of the rules governing regular unions.

CHAPTER III

ELEMENTS OF CIVIL LAW

§26. *Property*. Discussions on the right of property and its origins are to be found in the later commentaries. Some ascribe it to religion, to the authority of the Treatises; others give weight to the actual circumstances and the right of the first occupant. The earlier Smritis confine themselves to enumerating the types of property according to their mode of origin: inheritance, purchase, partition among living heirs, seizure, discovery. These are the general categories, to which are added, according to caste; for Brahmans, property received as gift, for Kashatriyas conquest, for the working classes the product of their labour. A simpler distinction is made between "immovable" property (houses, land), and "movable" (animals, slaves, etc.). Elaborating the theme of "colours", which inspires so many classifications, Narada (I, 44 et seq) describes as white property which results from gifts, study, etc., black resulting from fraud, gambling, and various low offices, and an intermediate or particoloured, acquired by trade or labour; there follows an enumeration of twelve kinds of property distinguished according to the caste of the possessor.

More important is the distinction which is drawn, if sometimes confusedly, between ownership and possession. The stage

has evidently passed when the quality of *swamin*, "possessor", was sufficient title in itself. The Treatises seek to limit occupation without legal title. They regard as unassailable no possession going back less than three generations (or a hundred years). For movable property, possession for ten years suffices to create a right; for immovable property twenty years is named. The period varies according to circumstances. If the question concerns uncultivated land, common economic interest prevails over proprietory rights: five years is enough to make possession of land legitimate for a cultivator if the land was lying fallow, for, explains Narada (XI, 26), five years is the period at the end of which the forest has reconquered the land. Kautilya (II, 1) provides for no delay in the appropriation by the king of uncultivated land, but no doubt this is only a matter of replacing one farmer by another. Finally Gautama (XII, 27) allows a "vicious" man to be deprived of his property (until he reforms himself). Such indications suggest the limits within which the right of property was allowed; no doubt the situation was similar wherever the interests of the State or of a powerful community were affected.

On the other hand the "joint family" (§ 11) system implies a family property, which in conditions of peasant agriculture must apply to land, cattle, tools and perhaps crops. Strabo repeats a statement by Nearchus, valid for the North-West region, that work was done jointly by a family (or by families in association?), followed by a distribution of the crop in which each person took what was due to him and the rest was destroyed. Brihaspati (XIV, 21 et seq) partially confirms this practice. From the Buddhist sources it appears that in the Gangetic plain the land was divided into lots held by "masters of the house" who co-operated in marking boundaries and in irrigation under the supervision of the head of the village. The Veda mentions *khila* or *khilya*, which may be communal lands, such as pastures surrounding the group of houses, which the classical sources tell us belonged to the village.

PRIVATE PROPERTY

§ 27. But among these other forms, the existence of private property is undeniable. The very system of donations implies it, as also do certain details of legislation and of custom, for example the rules concerning boundaries, and joint property in boundary marks, which incidentally show the frequency of disputes about land ownership.

Boundaries consist in marks, apparent or hidden (these

known only to the proprietor, the knowledge of them being transmitted by him to his son); but they also made use of natural features of the landscape, not to mention buildings, sanctuaries, columns, reservoirs, which were for preference established at the junction of great estates or districts. Severe penalties attached to the destruction or removal of boundary marks. If there was a dispute, in the absence of direct indications recourse was had to "witnesses," who appeared in magical garments (red robes) to proclaim the correct boundary lines and to restore the marks; their decisions had the force of a sort of oracle. Variations in the course of rivers were considered "divine" accidents, and a field acquired in this way was the property of its new owner until the next harvest. In the *Mahavagga* (II, 6) we find the Buddha demarcating with fixed marks the boundaries of a parish; the ceremony which accompanied this operation is described in detail in the *Dipavamsa* (XIV, 26) and the *Mahavamsa* (XIV and XV).

PRIVATE DEBTS

§ 28. *Loans at Interest.* Special importance attaches to the question of private debts. "The recovery of debt" is the first of the 18 heads under which the civil and penal law is arranged. Here again, religious values have left their imprint on the system. It is not by chance that the word for "debt," *rina,* stands in the Veda for religious "fault." Man is born in debt, as the *Satapatha-Brahmana* sternly says, he is in debt to the gods, the manes and the sages, and he can free himself from them by rites and offerings. The obligation to pay, sanctioned by the law, is primarily a religious duty: the debtor will in his next life be the slave of the creditor. To compensate for this, however, the juridical penalties do not approach as regards severity those found in other ancient civilisations.

The law gives some protection to the man who wishes to contract a loan. The rate of interest is fixed by rules, which are somewhat complex. Usury is considered equivalent to theft, and is punished, and forbidden to Brahmans. The normal rate of interest (*vriddhi,* "growth") is $1\frac{1}{4}$ percent per month, or 15 percent, for commercial contracts, and, according to certain texts, if the borrower is of low status, the percentage may rise to 60; in case of great risk (as a sea voyage), it might be as high as 240, the maximum allowed. It seems that the normal rate of 15 percent has not varied greatly in the course of history: surely evidence of an insistent demand for credit.

There is "interest in a circle" (compound). If the debtor was of good faith, the accumulated interest could not exceed

the capital, for a loan of gold; three times the capital for a loan of clothing; four times for draught animals, and so on. An injuction of Manu (VIII, 151) says that "interest paid at one time (not in instalments) must not exceed double the capital due." Some articles do not carry interest: objects of current use, "friendly loans," gambling debts, and stridhana (§ 15). A promissory note is renewed by adding to the original capital mention of the interest still owing.

Debt passes to heirs, according to a rule similar to that governing property; but it appears that interest could no longer be demanded from heirs after the grandson. The son is in principle responsible for his father's debts (but not the reverse). As between spouses there is a reciprocal responsibility, but in application this rule was hedged in by various considerations: the existence of property belonging only to the wife, and a contract undertaken in common or a formal promise. A debt ignored for ten years was irrecoverable. The same person could not be sued simultaneously by two creditors.

The literature is full of evidence as to loans and usury [the word *kusida,* "usury", is found from the *Yajurveda* onwards, and the "Gambler's Lament" of the *Rigveda* (X, 34) alludes to the punishment of an insolvent debtor]. There is epigraphic evidence from Nasik (2nd century), with an indication of the rate of interest (240 kahapana per 2,000, or enough to provide 20 monks with clothes at 12 kahapana each). The *Jatakas* have many stories of debtors threatened or pursued by creditors, and a rule of the Buddha (*Mahavagga,* I, 46) denies them admission to the monastic order. If Megasthenes (in Elien's version) declares that the Indians did not practise the lending of money, it can only be assumed that he meant to refer to the severe rules, which however were probably ineffective, against usury.

The creditor had various ways by which he could regain possession of his loan: "persuasion, legal procedure, deceit, violence," (Manu, VIII, 49; forced labour for the benefit of the creditor was known), and a fifth way which Manu calls "the traditional method," which is nothing else than the threat of suicide (praya). The last method the literature shows us was in use in various circumstances, a dangerous method which the Brahmans in particular utilised in order to obtain justice or to protest against abuses (*Rajatarangini,* passim). The creditor would seat himself outside the house of the debtor, threatening to die there of hunger and thus make his adversary responsible for his death. The procedure is in essence magico-religious; it is attested from the later Vedic

period (*Apastamba Dharmasutra*, I, 19, 1), and it takes elaborate forms in the Middle Ages.

SECURITY

§ 29. *Security*. Two kinds of guarantees for debt are described: the personal pledge (*pratibhu*) and the security (*adhi*), which takes the place of a mortgage. Objects given as security, which may be animate objects, animals or slaves, may be utilised or not by the receiver (security for use or for conservation). If utilised, they are to be given back as soon as, by the accumulation of interest, the debt which they covered has doubled. Adjustments are provided for the case of loss, misuse, secret sale of the security, etc.

The personal pledge is given in various ways. A debtor who denies his debt may be required to produce somebody who will guarantee his veracity, and if the decision goes against him, will pay the debt himself; in the same way a man who wishes to borrow may have to furnish a guarantor. Similar securities were customary in other types of contracts, assurances, petitions to a court, etc. Lists are given of persons inadmissible as guarantors.

A particular form of security is the hostage (*samadhi* in Kautilya (VII, 17), who serves to guarantee the execution of a peace treaty. Relatives of the king or notables are used for this purpose. True to the spirit of double-dealing which animates him, Kautilya (VII, 17) recommends giving for preference a girl, an illegitimate or feeble son, a relative or minister who is under suspicion, etc.; in certain cases the king considers it better to act as hostage himself, rather than hand over his only son.

UNOWNED GOODS

§ 30. *Deposit and Unowned Goods*. Very diverse objects may be placed in deposit (*nikshepa*) either open or closed (sealed, secret); consignment to deposit may be done on the owner's initiative, or more often in pursuance of one or other type of contract. If the ownership of the object is disputed, a fixed procedure has to be followed, and the return of the object itself is surrounded by a certain formality. The Smriti holds that in case of force majeure—theft is an instance mentioned—the responsibility of the depositary ceases. If in the *Mrichchhakatika* Charudatta insists on returning to Vasavadatta the value of the jewels which she had entrusted to him but had been stolen from him, it is not from any legal necessity but from a sentiment of honour which gives more than is due.

The question of "things found" (*nidhi*) is the subject of legal discussion. Theoretically the owner of such things is the king, who collects his usual share, that is a sixth of the value; according to another interpretation, perhaps more ancient, the king allows the finder to take a sixth of the value; according to some, the proportion varies with the caste of the finder, and in any event a Brahman takes the whole amount. Kautilya, (IV, 1) a spokesman for royal rights, says that things found, if of great value, are the property of the king. Relics of magical ideas are to be detected in many of the rules relating to things "without a master."

CONTRACTS

§ 31. *Contracts.* The ancient Smriti had developed no abstract theory of contract. Some contracts retained the character of religious acts, performed according to a rite. This is the case with donations, and with many other agreements of which the literature treats in a disjointed way. Kautilya gives a list of persons incapable of concluding a valid contract: dependants, minors, and those marked with a moral or physical defect. Precautions, varying with the type of contract, are taken against fraud and other abuses.

The relations of teacher to pupil, and of "patron of the sacrifice" to officiating priest, are expressed in a contract of "hire" established from the Vedic era. Labour contracts define the ties between employer and employee, laying down the period of work, the pay, and the payments in kind which are added as the work proceeds: a proportion of the gross product or of the profit (cf. § 79). Even in the absence of an express provision, a statutory proportion of a tenth of the profit, or a sixth of the output, is assured to the workers. Non-payment is made the subject of sanctions, such as non-execution of the work demanded, bad work, and more generally professional errors. Maintenance and replacement of instruments are provided for in the law. An unjustified breach of contract by the employer requires the payment of compensation. The notion of indemnity is established indeed in relation to the most various agreements, since, for example, an unfulfilled promise of marriage is compensated by damages and interest paid by the father of the girl to the disappointed suitor. At another level of facts, we find a naive rule concerning laundering: the washerman is responsible if the clothes he delivers have lost more than one eighth of their value at the first wash, one quarter at the second, and so on. In truth, these provisions could be put into effect at all completely only under a well-

developed administration, such, precisely, as that which Kautilya describes, with a body of inspectors responsible for preventing and suppressing fraud in all departments of the economy.

Since in Manu's time (and more definitely by Kautilya's), the written document had made its appearance, the importance of the written word is keenly felt, and the later Smritis extend its applications. Formalism takes root, and documents whether public or private tend to assume those bombastic forms which we find more and more exemplified in Sanskrit epigraphy.

Acknowledgement of debt had to be drawn up with care, and to carry the signatures of witnesses. Debt is annulled by a receipt, or by an indication on the document itself. The authors set forth the grounds of invalidity; they recognise limitation after thirty years. Among private documents, the most notable are judgments (§ 41); some could be drawn up in the presence of the king by the official scribe, and furnished with the royal seal.

COMMERCIAL LAW

§ 32. *Principles of Commercial Law.* The precautions and restrictions which apply to contracts are in general also valid for commercial transactions. There are rules intended to restrict excessive prices or fraud (fraud took unexpected forms: there were drugs to dope worn-out animals when the owner wanted to sell them): fines, confiscations, even corporal punishment. But the decision depends upon the method of the transaction; in order that there can be any remedy, an explicit sale must have been concluded by the two parties.

The codes give details of the methods of testing merchandise before it is purchased. A curious provision is for a delay between delivery and payment; a period of "repentance" is allowed after purchase. The purchaser can demand annulment if the transaction has taken place the same day; if he returns the object on the morrow or the day after, the seller has a right to a progressive compensation; the purchase is final on the third day, or on the tenth, according to Manu. The period of delay allowed varies according to caste (Kautilya, III, 67) or, what seems more reasonable, according to the nature of the objects sold (Narada, IX, 5). As regards transport, the owner compensates the carrier if, in case of accident, he proves that he was not responsible.

There are warnings against the acquisition of goods "without a master" (§ 30); seller and purchaser are equally punishable, and the transaction is subject to annulment. It is not

easy to decide if, in the early period, the right of sale (and of mortgage) of immovable goods had suffered those limitations which we see in the Nibandha of the Middle Ages. Some facts may be noted: thus, the seller must (according to some) give an option to his relatives or neighbours; and in case of a public sale, it could be stipulated that the sale is invalid if the previously fixed price is not exactly reached.

The provisions summarised here allow us to infer the existence of a highly centralised State, in which private activity was subjected to control, and in a certain degree "directed."

DONATIONS

§ 33. *Donations.* This is one of the most significant aspects of the social norm, and one which in many ways, in its origins and its effects, transcends the juridical point of view. It is to be noticed that since Vedic times the Brahmans have been able to command the privilege of receiving gifts, of recommending if not insisting on enormous, indeed fabulous, gifts, and of imposing such charges as preconditions of any service rendered by them, and of any reparation for fault or accident. The thing given creates its reward in this life and in the next: it yields for the benefit of the donor the value of the goods he has given, if indeed it does not multiply it; it establishes an irrevocable bilateral claim; it is an obligation, the payment of a debt. As we pass from the closed world of the Veda to the open world of classical India, the institutional character of the donation remains unchanged.

No doubt reservations are made from time to time: Brihaspati declares that "total" donations are invalid if the donor has a son; he recommends that donors should not give away necessary things, lest they "change honey into poison" (XV, 3). But these qualifications do not amount to much; they are themselves suspended in case of "distress," and the advice is given definitely to accept any gift which is "offered spontaneously." Objects given are classed according to their value or nature; the form under which the gift should be made and the favourable place or time, are laid down. The Puranas have lists of ten or sixteen "great gifts," at the head of which stands the gift of a piece of gold "equal in weight to a man."

The literature, and more particularly epigraphy, constantly refer to gifts of land; like the gift of cows in earlier times, the gift of land is the best of all, it liberates from all sin (*Vasishtha Dharmasutra,* XIX, 16). These gifts of land, later often accompanied by grants of public or private buildings and of entire villages, were made by the king or by some rich dignitary

to Brahmans individually or collectively (normally this type of donation is called *agrahara* or preciput). [Preciput: an object which is first to be taken out of the property held in common by one having a right, before a partition takes place (French law)] Buddhist and Jain orders were not forgotten; less often the beneficiaries were civil officials (cf. § 56). Since Asoka it has been the practice to inscribe on stone or metal endowments of all kinds, the religious significance of which is emphasised by the term *dharmadeya* ("gifts of the law") or *brahmadeya* ("sacred gifts"). The inscriptions mention the name of the donor and his ancestry, the place, a description of the goods transferred, the object of the act and the merit expected, the name of the recipient, etc., and conclude with the royal signature, the name of the inscriber, and the date. It is usually specified that the gift is made "with the revenue," with the right to such and such taxes, and exemption from such or such charges, that it confers "the privilege of justice concerning the ten (or five) offences," that it is accompanied by the "eight modes of enjoyment," and that it carries inviolability from "troops regular and irregular," or more generally the eighteen immunities (*parihara*). As to its duration, it is specified that the sons, grandsons and other direct descendants will benefit from the endowment "as long as the sun and the moon endure." The inscriptions appeal to future kings, and hold out certain threats. More rarely precautions are taken against the misuse of donated property.

The formulary of gifts was fixed in outline by the time of the Satavahanas; the Guptas amplified their scope. The ostentation of royal gifts attained enormous proportions: thus a gift of 300,000 cows, 16 villages and other estates, revenues sufficient to feed 100,000 Brahmans per year, to plant 32,000 coconut trees, etc., a gift made "to the Gods and the Brahmans" by Ushavadata (Nasik, 1st century); or again the foundation of the monastery of Vikramasila with its 108 shrines and its 6 colleges, by Dharmapala in the 8th century.

Aside from epigraphy, Yajnavalkya (I, 317 et seq) deals with the subject of donations of land, and Brihaspati corroborates him in greater detail.

CHAPTER IV

PENAL LAW

§ 34. *Theft.* The codes give a list of ten crimes (or grave offences), followed by a long list of minor offences, often trivial, such as breaches of etiquette or civility. Every social fault is primarily a moral, religious fault, and its punishment is primarily an expiation. The books "Concerning Law" and "Removal of Thorns" in Kautilya concern not civil and criminal matters taken separately, but rather private affairs and those which have social or economic implications.

Theft (*steya*) is the typical crime, the treatment of which serves as the model for the rest. Megasthenes undoubtedly gives too favourable a picture when he says that theft was rare: the number of injunctions relating to it, and the extreme severity of its punishment, are sufficient evidence against him; in the romantic literature, theft by housebreaking, the activities of "piercers of walls" with their special manuals (there exists a *Steyasastra*), their elaborate technique, their tools, their ruses, are a favourite theme (cf. *Mrichchhakatika,* III: *Dasakumara-charita,* II: *Kathasaritsagara,* passim, and the cycle of legends about Muladeva, the patron of thieves). The king could take part personally in the pusuit of the criminal: was he not the protector of the property of his subjects, so that he had to pay from his treasury for property stolen and not recovered, or else, it is said, he would offend against justice and his own interests? Special officials were appointed—the "destroyers of theft" of which the inscriptions speak and the "ropes for thieves" of Kautilya. Spies were entrusted with listening to the conversation and checking the behaviour of suspected persons; sometimes they performed as real agents provocateurs.

It was the responsibility of the accused to prove his innocence: thus, if the footprints of stolen animals passed on to his land, it was for the landowner to prove that they left it again. Where an individual charge could not be sustained, the collective responsibility of a village was admitted. In the same way it is declared that the guards, the policemen, and ultimately the neighbours are chargeable if the thief is not caught. A curious point is that an innocent person accused of theft who has not been able to prove his innocence is still punished even after the real thief has been discovered.

The worst cases of theft could be punished with "coloured" death (§ 36). A list showed the punishment corresponding to the object stolen, the social position of the persons concerned, etc. Accomplices were punished also. Receipt of stolen goods, even in ignorance, was punishable; but Dandin in *Dasakumaracharita* mentions that the Mauryas modified this principle so far as merchants were concerned. Finally we are told the valueless objects which it is permissible to steal: a Brahman, "on a journey, tired, having nothing to eat, does no wrong if he takes two sugarcanes or two edible roots" (Narada, XVIII, 39).

Variants of theft, apart from the numerous forms of brigandage (which the literature often mentions), are the equally numerous types of fraud: gambling frauds, falsification of weights and measures (Kautilya, II, 14; *Kalavilasa*, VIII), of the coinage (Kautilya, IV, 1), of private or public documents, false witness or "theft by words," and all kinds of cheating or deceit in the performance of paid work: this is *un-aryan* (Anaryaba) conduct. The great number of laws on the subject is evidence not so much of the degradation of public morals as of an excessive trust in State control. In gambling (*dyuta*) supervision seems to have been strict, and a certain compensation is given to a loser who has been the victim not of a definable fraud but merely of a simple surprise.

CRIMES

§ 35. *Crime*. The greater number of "crimes" (or grave misdemeanours, as we should say) fall under the heading of *sahasa* or "violence." They are of three degrees, and range from murder to rape, abduction, assault, abuse, and damage to inanimate objects. Kautilya stresses crimes against the State, and the political repercussions of certain private crimes; he is fully aware of the idea of social defence. The death penalty, even in the case of murder without extenuating circumstances, is far from being the uniform punishment: nothing shows more clearly the great weight attached to contingent circumstances in the criminal law. It is however mandatory (with confiscation of property) fairly frequently, and it becomes more frequent in later times. Nevertheless the principle of legitimate defence is acknowledged: Manu (VIII, 350, et seq) speaks of meeting "anger at strife with anger." The murder of the wife or of the child, and voluntary abortion (provided that the sex of the foetus can be discerned) are punished with death. In case of adultery (*samgrahana*) account is taken, apart from caste (for adultery is above everything else a matter

of the "confusion of castes"), of various circumstances: whether the woman was "guarded" or not, and whether there was violence. The punishment is rigorous (though not according to Kautilya), especially for the woman; in the earliest period it is admittedly left to the discretion of the wronged husband. The very presumption of adultery is punishable; some authors demand an inquiry whether there have been private conversations, or even distant approaches. Incest is also rigorously penalised: the treatises give a list of twenty "relations" between whom intercourse is forbidden, but these include, together with the closest relations, simple connections by marriage or "spiritual" relations, such as the wife of the guru, whose honour is jealously defended by the sententious literature.

In case of injury or assault, the victim can exact legal punishment on the spot if the attacker is of a despised caste, for "the king has no part in the punishment [(or people of this kind)" (Narada, XV, 11)]. Injuries to animals fall within the mischief of severe laws, above all, as would be expected, if the animal injured is a cow: the killing of a non-sterile cow is equivalent to the murder of a man of high caste. Damage to crops, buildings, etc., is also dealt with: whoever destroys a wall, fills up a ditch, or breaks open a door is banished.

PUNISHMENT

§ 36. *Punishment.* Punishment (*danda,* properly "stick": the sense of "punishment" is found as early as the *Panchavimsa Brahmana,* XVII, 1, 9) is presented as a necessity of State. "If the king does not, without wearying, inflict punishment on those who deserve it, the stronger will roast the weaker like a fish on a spit" (Manu, VII, 20); "where punishment goes forth, black, red-eyed, destroyer of evil, there the people are free from trouble" (VII, 25); "the law destroys when it is itself destroyed: the law protects when it is protected" (VIII, 15). The "stick," a symbol of the right to punish, is Dharma itself for the king in his function of dispenser of justice.

The Treatises set forth quite a gamut of punishments, and the brief series given by Manu (VIII, 129)—warning, severe admonition, fine, corporal punishment—does not exhaust the list. The principle of a plurality of punishments is admitted.

Fines are sometimes unspecified [ranging from a *kakini* (§ 88) to confiscation of all property], and sometimes calculated according to a triple assessment, from 250 to 1000 *panas* in the Smriti (Kautilya gives more precise figures). They may depend on the value (12 times the value of the object stolen),

or on other circumstances. In case of confiscation, articles of necessity and instruments of labour are exempted.

Corporal punishments include beating on various parts of the body (which are specified in detail), and mutilation. Here the principle is applied of cutting off the member with which the crime was performed (Manu, VIII, 279): this variant of the lex talionis, which however is restricted to certain classes of case in the Smriti, and in Kautilya, and is reported in a slightly different form by Megasthenes, is often in fact equivalent to a death sentence. This latter—called "the king's order" in the *Jatakas*—was carried out in various ways: it was *achitra* or "simple," *chitra* or "coloured," which means preceded by mutilation or torture, or may refer to methods of execution other than decapitation, such as impalement (often mentioned in the literature), burning, hanging, drowning, or poisoning. It might be accompanied by a demonstration intended to hold the criminal up to public infamy (such as a parade on a donkey, in case of adultery), or a symbolic demonstration (such as the bed of red-hot iron for one who has violated the wife of his guru). There is evidence in the epics (*Mahabharata*, XII, 238) of opposition to the death penalty.

Torture (*karman* or "act") is used less as a means of adding to punishment than to extract confessions. Kautilya enumerates a series of forms of torture, and the *Mahabharata* alludes to it (in the story of Mandavya Risi). Women and children were not exempt from corporal punisment, which always took the form, at least for children, of whipping. Banishment is known, even for non-political crimes; and also forced labour (such as work in the mines for a Brahman who had committed a grave crime, referred to in Kautilya, IV 8), equivalent to penal servitude for a period or for life. Imprisonment, pure and simple, though often referred to in the literature properly so called, in the *Jatakas* for example, and confirmed by Hiuen-tsang, is rarely prescribed in the codes.

Although very severe in certain respects, legal punishment as a whole in ancient India was not as rigorous as in other ancient societies. Though some innocent persons were condemned on frivolous grounds, like Charudatta in the *Mrichchhakatika*, there were many guilty men moderately punished, prosecuted without vindictiveness, and easily pardoned. Fa-hian testifies to the leniency of the Gupta laws, which did not inflict corporal punishment (except to cut off the right hand in bad cases of habitual crime). Brahmans, who according to the Smriti could not be put to death (though neither the literature nor Kautilya confirms this), were simply

compelled to shave the head, or alternatively (Kautilya, IV, 8) branded with a red-hot iron. Asoka's clemency is well known, though it is true that he did not concern himself particularly with private offences.

THE RIGHT OF PARDON

§ 37. The king exercised the right of pardon, though there are variations in this matter: it appears that at certain periods a death sentence was irrevocable. Asoka limited himself to granting a respite of three days between judgment and execution. On the other hand, the liberation of prisoners on the occasion of a festival, a victory, or the birth of a son to the king was customary, and we have evidence of it from Asoka's time.

Confession by the criminal did not avert punishment. A man who had stolen gold had to confess his crime to the king, before whom he presented himself "with a club in his hand and his hair disarranged": the king took the club and struck him with it. If the thief died the crime was expiated; if he was pardoned the crime was imputed to the king (Manu, VIII, 314 et seq). It should be added that, in accordance with a fairly general rule, an accused person who refused to speak was considered guilty.

The existence of a system of wergeld in Vedic times has been inferred, called *vaira* (*deya*) in the secondary Samhitas and *satadaya* in the *Rigveda*. In any case, according to the Dharmasutras a graduated compensation (1000 cows for a Kshatriya killed, 100 for a Vaishya, 10 for a Sudra; no wergeld is allowed for the murder of a Brahman) is made over to the king, who delivers it to the relatives of the victim, after deducting a bull as his reward for his intervention. In later times wergeld became merged in the general system of expiations, and the cows were given to Brahmans.

EXPIATIONS

§ 38. *Expiations.* The greater number of crimes and misdemeanours susceptible of civil punishment, and many others of a more obviously religious character, could be expiated. We shall not go into detail here, since expiation (*prayaschitta*, properly the "intention to satisfy, to propitiate"), though treated at length in the Smritis, where it is in fact one of three departments of dharma, really concerns religious life. However we may notice that in Manu and Vasishtha civil penalties can take the place of religious penalties (but not vice versa). Even Kautilya, who in general hardly touches upon expiation,

notes its encroachment on the domain of the criminal law. Both could be exacted for the same crime, as when *prayaschitta* was over before the judicial punishment began. Finally, punishment was of universal application, whereas expiation normally concerned only the "Aryan" classes. It is clear that the highly elaborate theory of expiatory practices influenced legislation in many ways, and rendered some of its provisions obsolete or unrealisable; it preserved the domination of religious and magical ideas over a large group of social norms which otherwise would more quickly and more completely have become part of an objective system.

JUSTICE

§ 39. *The Exercise of Justice.* Justice (vyavahara, vivada) is surrounded by an imposing formality. The texts emphasise the importance of the settled fact in law, and exalt the search for truth in the public interest. Crime must be hunted down, "as the hunter follows through all obstacles the track of a wounded animal" (Manu, VIII, 44).

Theoretically and in law it is the king who dispenses justice, ordering an inquiry and bringing the charge even when there is no complainant. A considerable part of the king's time would be spent in his judicial functions, according to Megasthenes, though Kautilya does not confirm him on this point. At least in the case of Asoka we observe the attention which he devoted to justice. A principle generally acknowledged is that the king is responsible for a crime which remains unpunished, or for an unjust decision, of which "a fourth part falls upon him" (Narada, III, 12).

In practice, in States of any importance, and except in the gravest cases, the king was represented by a magistrate (*dharmastha*), whose competence was the subject of careful investigation: he had to know the 8,000 articles of the law (Narada). In civil cases, the judges could be relatives, important men of the locality, or members of the corporation interested. In penal cases they were officials, in principle Brahmans, whose office was often hereditary. Their titles varied in different periods and regions. Megasthenes states that they knew the law by heart, which led Strabo to infer that they had no written law. The Greek authors in general held the judicial system of ancient India in high esteem.

There was no jury, at least in Northern India. The existence of two or more courts of appeal is attested, at least in some places (the Lichchhavi had no fewer than seven, on the evidence of the commentary to the *Mahaparinibbana Sutta*).

The king was always the last court of appeal, and according to some he alone was qualified to pass sentence of punishment. The court (*dharmadhikaran*), sometimes stationary, sometimes moving (it went round with the troops in camp, we are told), consisted of ten elements, according to Brihaspati (I, 4) who, in addition to the king and his deputy, to the judges or assessors, the recorder, the scribe, and the guard or bailiff, includes the instruments of the "ordeal" (§ 41) and finally the immanent presence of the Law. The *Mrichchhakatika* (IX, 14) describes in a striking passage the tumultuous appearance of a court in session; it gives a lively picture of the procedure of justice, and does not spare satire when it shows the judges, intimidated by the threats of a powerful plaintiff, hastening (contrary to their private feelings) to declare the accused man guilty and to send the sentence to the king who, without further inquiry, ordains the death penalty. The *Jatakas* contain much evidence on the administration of justice, but as a whole it only confirms what we learn in more abstract terms from the Smriti.

PARISHAD

§ 40. In addition to the ordinary tribunals there were councils of leading men with special jurisdiction for the corporations. The ambiguous word *parishad* or "council" sometimes designates the group of Brahmans whose responsibility it is to decide on expiations (§ 38), to supervise their performance, and finally to see to the readmission of the penitent into his caste. Sometimes it means a committee of leading men chosen by caste, charged with judicial duties. Parishads of the second type disappear after the 7th century, when the work of the legal council is performed by a pandita; later religious orders and sects were endowed with certain judicial powers.

The Greeks state that the Indians were not given to procedural formality. It is the fact that suits were not launched on account of securities or loans, and that arbitration often supplemented court decisions; but the details of procedure, of which some features are of great antiquity, are evidence of a highly elaborate tradition.

The cost of justice was high. A plaintiff who loses an appeal pays twice the fine to which he was sentenced in the lower court; if he wins, his opponent pays double, and the judges whose decision is thus reversed are themselves liable to a penalty. To the legal costs must be added the sums at stake on one side or the other, or on both: the profit from it all goes to the king, or sometimes to the magistrate.

In the same way as the civil is not clearly separated from the criminal law, the civil and criminal procedure are but vaguely distinguished: the principal difference consists in the necessity for the presence of the accused and in the form given to evidence (§ 41). Cross petitions are admitted, and at least for misdemeanours (including the case of debts) the accused may be required to live in an assigned residence. There were no advocates, at least as a recognised body. Near relatives could plead as "substitutes," and could prosecute, without special authorisation.

Drawn up according to forms which presupposed a long tradition of learning, duly founded "on arguments and on the facts" (*Mrichchhakatika*, IX, 7-8), the plaint was presented to the judge; if it was admissible the case could open at once. Sometimes a summary of it was inscribed on a tablet or on the ground, so as to be submitted in some sense to the public, and we see from a detail in the *Mrichchhakatika* that the plaintiff could change the text at the last moment. The rejoinder was also inscribed, and contained a refutation point by point; the period for presenting it was from three to seven nights. Conciliation was allowed before the judgment.

LAW OF EVIDENCE

§41. *Evidence*. Special importance attaches to evidence, the quasi-sacred character of which the codes vie with one another in stressing. In civil cases the qualifications of witnesses (*sakshin*) were carefully considered; in criminal cases, any evidence was admitted. The witnesses in a civil suit numbered three, in principle; it was necessary to avoid a challenge from the opponent, and there is a long list of the types of people it was advisable not to choose (women, according to Manu; Brahmans devoted to Sruti, according to Brihaspati).

Witnesses were not required to take an oath, but there was a kind of affirmation, the terms of which varied with caste. The deposition was surrounded by a certain solemnity. The false witness was punished by a fine (the amputation of a limb, according to Megasthenes), without prejudice to religious penalties: "He falls into the bonds of Varuna for a hundred existences" (Manu, VIII, 82). Some authors excuse false witness in a case in which true evidence would lead to a sentence of death.

All other kinds of evidence were allowed, and their relative importance depended on the case in question, or on the competence of the court: "written evidence is superior to word of mouth" says Brihaspati (IX, 32). Litigants had recourse to indirect evidence, and used certain tricks. Notice was taken of

appearance, of accidental gestures, of the comportment of the witness, and of the accused ("who comes and goes, licks the corners of his lips, whose forehead perspires and face goes pale..." Yajnavalkya, 11, 13), and of course of omens. The intention of the action was taken into account, and instigation to crime might be more severely punished than the crime itself. The oath was admitted in the absence of other evidence, and in relation to social position and circumstances; here religious influence is to be noticed, and examples are to be found already in the Veda.

In doubtful cases the judge could decree the ordeal (*divya*, properly "the divine (test)", which might be obligatory, or sometimes optional (Brihaspati). There were several forms of ordeal (as many as nine), which the codes describe in picturesque detail. Those by fire, water and poison were severe tests in which the endurance of the subject played a part, and in some cases his cunning (cf. Narada, Prol., 1, 30). Others, such as the balance, depended on pure chance: the accused was weighed twice; he was innocent if he was lighter the second time, but guilty if he was heavier. There was much discrimination in the employment of the ordeal as between one crime and another, between castes, and between occupations; a number of categories were exempt from it. The literary references to it may go back to the *Atharvaveda* (II, 12); certainly the *Chhandogya* mentions an ordeal by burning fire; it is mentioned occasionally in later texts. Kautilya does not refer to it, and the earliest cases in the inscriptions are as late as the 6th century. Hiuen-tsang and Al Biruni speak of it.

The judgment (*nirnaya*), the form of which is subject to detailed rules, was sent to the plaintiff: it was called the *jayapattra*, or "leaf of victory", but no specimen has survived. The judgment could be annulled in case of false evidence or new evidence; but sometimes new facts were ignored "as the rain falls in vain on a ripe crop" (Narada, Prol., 1,63). Execution of the judgment was assured by officials of the court; the execution of corporal punishment, and in particular of death sentences, fell to Chandalas (§7).

CHAPTER V

THE STATE

§42. *The King.* The State rests on the person of the king, in whom the rights and powers of the Kshatriya are vested. The dharma par excellence is the *rajadharma* or royal authority, by virtue of which the normative structure of society is established. "The kingdom is the king : such are in a word the elements of the State," says Kautilya (VIII, 2). The upholder of dharma, the supreme judge (§38), the king is above all the "protector of the people", which does not mean that he cannot become their "devourer" (*Aitareya Brahmana,* VIII, 17).

Sometimes the royal power is represented as the fatal product of the decadence of the age, which leads to the notion of the "divine right"; sometimes it is the result of a sort of experiment, and there is implied a contract between the people and the sovereign: in order that the people may enjoy their goods in peace, "the wheel of the chariot must not leave the prescribed track" (*Raghuvamsa,* I, 17), and the savage "law of the fishes" which prevailed in ancient times is done away with.

The idea of a contract has perhaps been predominant, though it has not succeeded in imposing the fiction of the king as a paid employee, which is found clearly formulated only in rare passages (thus in *Mahabharata,* VII, 71, 10). But the "divine right" is undoubtedly better in evidence in the literature. It is shown by a number of facts of varying importance: by such an event as the enthronement or "pressing of the *soma* for the installation of the king" (*rajasuya*), and in particular the priest's prayer to the gods to confer on the new king the abstract and concrete powers which they exercise over heaven ; by the common assimilation of the king to a god (since the *Vinaya* the king has been called *deva*: the Kushana even used the Vedic title of "sons of the gods"), in particular to Indra, later to Vishnu, just as conversely some Vedic gods are disguised under the title of "kings"; by the prevalence of solar designations ; and by the form of homage rendered to the king, the ceremonial of which is partly religious, and shows traces of apotheosis. We may recall the existence in the Veda of a royal *avatar,* Trasadasyu ; that the ancient dynasties trace their ancestry back to purely mythical ancestors ; and that the Rajputs claim that they still continue the ancient lines of the

Moon and the Sun (to which was later added a line named from Agni). Many formulæ, in the Smriti and elsewhere, emphasise the divine character of the king: he is created by Brahman, says Manu (VII, 3), "he is formed from the particles of the masters of the gods" (VII, 5), "he is a great divinity in human form" (VII, 8), and "must imitate the brilliant actions (of the goods)" (IX, 303).

The origins of kingship are related in somewhat confused myths: it is traced to Manu, father and first king of mankind, legislator and hero; and to Prithu (Prithi in the Veda), the first "consecrated" king, who drank the milk of the World-cow, and was the successor of the impious *Vena*.

KING'S PRESTIGE

§43. However great may have been the prestige attaching to the person of the king (which we may judge from the extraordinary descriptions in the *Harshacharita* of Bana, who however denies that the king is "divine"), the divine right stopped well short of a true theocracy. The presence of the Brahmans must have limited the king's authority, as also did the related notion of the supremacy of *dharma*. The king not only respected the prerogatives of the Brahmans, but even owed them obedience (*Aitareya Brahmana*, VIII, 9); he followed the advice of his *purohita* or "chaplain", "as the servant obeys the master" (Kautilya, I, 5). We may recall how Janamejaya was humiliated by the Brahmans, and how the Vrishni perished for having been irreverent to them. The relations of the two powers have varied somewhat in the course of history, but the dominant impression is that the Kshatra prevailed over the Brahman, in other words the king enjoyed undisputed sovereignty, if he was ready to yield to the rival class its rights in the spiritual domain, and the free use of its own property. On the other hand, the record of so many kings dethroned, banished, assassinated, of so many royal orders disobeyed, of so many strangers easily acceding to power, would have been impossible if the "divine" claim had not always been ready to give way before the pressure of facts.

The term *rajan* (*raj* in the Veda; the word *maharaja* occurs but seldom in the ancient sources) corresponds to very diverse realities. In later Vedic times (*Aitareya Brahmana*, VIII) we find regional terms coming into vogue: *samrat* for the kings of the East, *bhoja* for those of the South, *swaraj* in the West, *viraj* in the North: it is not known if this diversity corresponds to differences of status, as the variations in the ritual of consecration (*Aitareya Brahmana*, VIII, 15) would suggest.

Later, the *Manasara* (XLI) distinguishes no fewer than nine types of kings. The important term *chakravartin,* "he who turns the wheel", of mythological origin, has been used to designate both a sovereign reigning over the whole world—a terrestrial Vishnu—and the Buddha who set in motion the wheel of the Law. In all traditions there attaches to this title the possession of certain magical marks.

With the irruption of foreign monarchies, and later under the Guptas, the extravagance of titles deprived royal designations of all credibility: in Kushan times appeared the title "king of kings", or more literally "king above kings"; the Pallava and the Kadamba were called "great king of the Law", and so on. Evidently there is nothing in common between the old *vishpati,* the "chief of a clan", the military kinglet, and the later imperial monarch. The Buddhist sources refer to "kings" of tribes, *padesaraja,* whose status was no higher than that of an influential Kshatriya, as is confirmed by a dictum of the Mimamsa. We know that the city of Vaisali counted no fewer than 84,000 rajan.

VASSALAGE

§44. *Vassalage.* The coexistence, at various periods, of empires—or even of reduced monarchies—with regional kingdoms, allows us to infer that there subsisted relations of vassal and suzerain. But in fact we find no organised system comparable to the feudal society of the West, or even to some societies of the Muslim period in India. However, the inscriptions of the Gupta era suggest vassalage: the Vakataka are spoken of as feudatories of the Gupta; under Samudragupta mention is made of "princes of the marches" who pay tribute, submit to requisitions or levies of troops, and obey the "rigorous orders" of the emperor; on many occasions there appear "kings" or even "great kings" who "meditate on the feet of the *paramabhattaraka*" or "are favoured by the feet of the *paramabhattaraka*"; the successors of the Satavahana have at their command *bhojaka* or "protected chiefs". The panegyrics recall with wearisome iteration that the essential advantage of conquest is that it compels the defeated kings to bow their heads: conquest must have led to relations of vassalage more often than to formal absorption. If we go back to the era of Asoka we find some indications of this trend, but the matter is open to dispute, and the Smriti is silent on it, unless we choose to force the sense of one political maxim or another, such as that of Manu (VII, 202) inviting the conqueror to depose the defeated king and put in his place one of that king's relatives.

HEREDITY AND ELECTION

§45. *Heredity and election.* Kingship is normally hereditary, and already the *Satapatha Brahmana* (XII, 9, 3, 1) alludes to a kingdom "of ten generations." Kingship implies the right of primogeniture, like the family, in the image of which it is formed. The theory lays down who are possible heirs in the absence of a son. There are instances in history of near relatives (not to speak of outsiders) chosen by the king, and of younger preferred to elder sons. The title of "viceroy" (*uparaja*) is of variable meaning, since it can be purely honorific and apply, as in the *Jatakas,* to a son who may or may not be associated in the government; on the other hand the title of *yuvaraja* or "heir apparent", whose appointment is the occasion of a minor coronation rite, generally determines his future position (see §46). We see in the *Ramayana* how the aged Dasaratha has his nobles acclaim and even legitimise his successor. Indeed from Vedic times the ritual implied some sort of recognition of the king by the people, and the custom of an oath is proved for several of the early monarchies.

An elective kingship is known, and may even, in the earliest times, have been the rule: some hymns of the *Atharvaveda* certainly refer (though it has been questioned) to ritual of election. Later the Greeks testify to it, and the Jatakas (*Samvara Jataka* and others) often mention it. The *rajakrit,* originally mere heralds, became in time what their name indicates, "makers of the king": they were the bard constable, the head of the municipality, and other notables making up the *ratna,* "jewels", or *ratnin,* "possessors of jewels". The election was performed sometimes by the ministers and other leading personalities, and sometimes by the people. We meet with elected kings, like Rudradaman, Gopala, Harshavardhana, at various periods, and it must have been a common thing especially at the beginning of a dynasty. On the other hand seizures of power were numerous, free from the constraint of being confirmed by an election ("if you want to obtain the sovereign power, you must use force" says a work of the pseudo-Bhasa, *Dutavakya,* 24). The preference for a dynasty, though it showed itself early, was never strong enough to prevent forcible seizures of power or arbitrary choices.

As to the curious custom of *phussaratha* or "magic chariot", known especially from the Jatakas, it seems to point to a choice made by the *purohita,* but in such a way as to give the people the impression that the chosen king had been "discovered" by a kind of divine judgment.

NON-KSHATRIYA KINGS

§46. Although Kshatriya in principle, the kings could also be Brahman: we can give the instance, though it is uncertain, of Pushyamitra, founder of the Sunga dynasty, of the Vakataka, and finally that of the Kadamba, who later fell in with the norm. The *Manasara* (XLII) "teaches" the legitimacy of kings of all the four *varnas*. Gopala was a Sudra, and the Puranas deplore the Sudra domination (see §6) which was established after Mahapadma (of the Nanda dynasty), which must refer primarily to the Maurya; and in fact the *Mudrarakshasa* speaks of Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, as a Sudra. Elevation to the kingship must have been accompanied by a change of caste, perhaps after the first generation. "A (non-Kshatriya) king," says Manu (IV, 86), "is equal to a butcher who has killed and sold ten thousand animals."

There have been women ruling in their own right, especially in Orissa and Kashmir: the *Raghuvamsa* (XIX) testifies to it, and Megasthenes (quoted by Pliny) mentions the kingdom founded by the daughter of Herakles.

An occasional practice was that of dyarchy, sometimes with, sometimes without subordination of one of the two to the other. It is alluded to in *Malavikagnimitra* (V), in a Jaina text (*Acharanga*), and, as a theoretical possibility, in Kautilya (VIII, 2). Cases are reported in the North and in the West after the Maurya epoch, generally consisting in the association with the sovereign of a member of the royal family—who might be the heir apparent—or of a military leader. A related principle is that of *yauvarajya*, whereby a younger brother, the son, or another relative is summoned to participate in ruling. This occurs especially in South India. From a passage in Kautilya (I, 17) we infer the existence of a "family" kingship. It must also be noted that voluntary abdication took place frequently, if we can believe the literary and epigraphic evidence of kings who took to the way of asceticism before the end of their active life.

DUTIES OF THE KING

§47. Nothing is more conventional than the discourse on the duties of the king, the qualities he needs, and the vices which distinguish the bad ruler. Quite a literature on this subject grew up after the epic period, oscillating between the themes of paternalism and autocracy. Kautilya (1,6) puts in the first place among the virtues of royalty, self-control, the source of

all the others. The bad king is he who plunders and robs, who breaks his agreements with his servants, whom his courtiers exploit ("we are those to whose tune he must dance", says a passage in the *Mahabharata*. The subjects of such a king may rise against him and kill him without mercy (*Mahabharata,* XIII, 61, 32 et seq). The *Mahavamsa* shows that many kings were deposed by popular assemblies. Kautilya recommends a thorough political training, which consists first of all in severe, indeed ferocious, precautions against the king's own family : "King's sons are crabs, who destroy their own father" (I, 17); this passage illustrates the dangers always present in Oriental courts.

Altogether we can say that the monarchy which prevailed was of a moderate type. In the first place, even in periods of the strongest centralisation there was a certain communal autonomy, which was not merely of an administrative type. Further, if the literature reflects realities, it must be admitted that the agruments enjoining restraint prevailed over the tendency to despotism. We hear again and again of the pseudo-etymology which derives *rajan* from the root *ranj,* "to please". The *rajan* in the true sense, it is said, is he who pleases his subjects by ruling justly (see, e.g., *Raghuvamsa,* IV, 12). The type of the lustful king (such as Agnimitra in the *Raghuvamsa*), or the artistic king of the cultivated courts of later days, are more emphasised than that of the despot, of which the Palaka (of the *Mrichchhakatika*) provides an example. We must recall here the exalted figure of Asoka, who in the name of *dharma,* and after starting his reign with sanguinary conquests, devoted himself to ruling justly and mercifully.

ANCIENT INDIAN REPUBLICS

§48. *Republics.* Much interest has been excited by the question whether there were or not republics in ancient India, and if so of what type. The texts are vague. Some theorists have dwelt upon the word *gana,* or again on *samgha* or puga, which mean "group" with variable shades of significance. These terms seem to have designated sometimes clans of the tribal type, sometimes corporative bodies, and sometimes political oligarchies, as in the passage in the *Mahabharata* (XII, 107) where the word *ganarajya* occurs ; another passage (I, 41, 72) describes a situation which recalls that of the "autonomous" cities mentioned by the Greeks, of which Megasthenes states some were without a king: these were the oligarchical clans which Alexander met in the Indus valley. It is possible that some of these had a republican form of organisation. Among

the sixteen Mahajanapada, those "great countries" known from Buddhist and Jaina sources, figure the Vajji, which included eight clans, of which one was the Lichchhavi; on the evidence of Kautilya (XI, 1), these "claimed the rank of rajan". The system of the Sakya allowed of a chief, also called rajan, but elected by the people, who presided over their political sessions; there is nothing here which is incompatible with a republican structure, but to decide the question with certainty we should have to be able to penetrate more deeply into the internal history of these clans and confederations, which all disappeared by the 5th century, absorbed one after another by the central power; it is in imitation of them that the *samgha* of the Buddhists was constituted.

The Smriti recognises only the monarchical state. The absence of a king is considered an impossible situation, a state of anarchy: a passage in the *Ramayana* (II, 67) describes the calamities which befall a country without a king; as does the *Mahabharata* (XII, 67): there is a similar maxim in *Pratimanataka* (III, 23), "as cows without a cow-herd go to ruin, so do subjects deprived of a sovereign". The opinion of Kautilya is not appreciably different: the state of *vairajya* which he describes must be understood not as a state without a king, as has sometimes been thought, but a kind of despotic aristocracy, or rule by foreigners.

THE SABHA AND THE SAMITI

§49. *The Assembly.* From the time of the *Mahabharata*, theory held that the state consists of seven fundamental elements or prakriti: these are the king, the ministers, the territory, the fortified town, the treasury, the army, and allies. The order in which these elements are given varies, as does their relative importance; the dangers to which they are exposed are of decreasing gravity (Kautilya). This sevenfold division took the place of a fourfold one, as we can infer from the older Sutras and some passages in the epics.

An element which does not appear among the seven and yet has been referred to as a limb of the state since the Vedic samhitas, is the political assembly. Two words occur in the Veda: *sabha,* which seems to designate an assembly of restricted size, partly judicial in nature; and *samiti,* which refers to a popular body, of a political character. The *samiti* disappears after the Vedic epoch, while the *sabha,* retaining its rôle as a court of royal justice, becomes the "audience"—the audience establishes a direct contact between the ruler and the subjects—the private council, and more generally the scene of

official life, of literary gatherings, etc. In the epic period, the attempt has been made to identify a parliamentary assembly behind the words *paura* and *janapada*, "people of the town" and "people of the country", but it seems that the attempt has to be abandoned.

All that can be said is that ancient India knew under various forms meetings of notables, and less frequent, popular assemblies, with the names *sabha, samgha* and *parishad* of fluctuating significance. We see them in operation when a king has to be elected, or the choice of a successor by the parting sovereign is to be ratified, or the ruler is to be condemned as unworthy. Probably these assemblies had other functions: the king had to consult them on all important decisions, as we know he consulted the chief men of the village, and of the corporations, in judicial or administrative matters. At Sthanavishvara (Thanesar) a council of nobles met to offer the crown to Harsha; an assemblage of Brahmans decided to elect Yasaskara in Kashmir. According to the Buddhist evidence, which applies to the pre-Maurya period, in certain tribes all the able-bodied men went to the *sabha*. In the epics, the *sabha* consisted first of the princes of the blood, and military chiefs, then of priests and of representatives of certain inferior classes, such as the *sutas*. But these haphazard indications do not permit us to speak of a stable legislative or even consultative body, except, at most, in those oligarchies where power was sometimes effectively in the hands of the assembly.

THE MINISTERS

§50. *The Ministers.* The chief counterpoise to the king's authority was the body of ministers. They were necessary because, as we are told, "one wheel cannot run alone" (Kautilya, I, 7). According to Kautilya all administrative measures were decided in a small "council" or *mantra*, consisting of at least three members having the title of *mantrin* (the symbouloi of Megasthenes)—we hear also of a *mantrin* in the singular, perhaps a prime minister—who, with the *purohita* or "chaplain", representing the spiritual power, formed the supreme authority of the kingdom. Below the *mantrin* were the *amatya* or ministers, the synedroi of Megasthenes, appointed to the various departments of public life. The *parishad* of Asoka, the *mantriparishad* of various texts, is not the council of the *mantrin* but the council of the *amatya* who, perhaps with other dignitaries, met when important business required it; this council numbered generally from 8 to 10 members, but might be as many as 37 on the evidence of the *Mahabharata*

(XII, 85,6), which divides it into 4 Brahmans, 8 Kshatriyas, 21 Vaisyas, 3 Shudras, and 1 Suta; Kautilya leaves the number undertermined. Decisions were taken by a majority. The proceedings were secret (*mantra* also means "secret", and originally "instrument of a religious thought, or ritual formula"), and immense precautions were taken to prevent leakage: "the meeting is like a panic-stricken warrior" (*Sisupalavadha*, II, 29), "the birds were not allowed to overhear" (Kautilya I, 15).

The king nominated his councillors and ministers, so far as the positions were not hereditary (as was normally the case under the Guptas) or occupied by the princes as a matter of right. It is possible that some Brahmans sometimes had a consultative voice. Kautilya (I, 10) summarising the data of the *Mahabharata,* speaks of tests to which candidates had to submit: those, for example, who resisted the temptation of money, were put in charge of the treasury; the "councillors" were selected from those who had resisted all types of temptation. The qualities needed in a minister are described with a precision which is sometimes a little native, as in Manu (VII, 54); Kautilya (I, 8) puts capacity first.

Altogether the functions and titles were variable, and in part conventional. In the romantic literature, the *maula amatya* or "hereditary minister" is a standing figure: he is a sort of confidant of the king, whom he accompanies to the wars. Some ministers, if they gave proof of complete fidelity, acquired considerable power, like that of Vishnugupta (alias Chanakya) whose genius for intrigue is described in the *Mudrarakshasa*. The *Malavikagnimitra* seems to allude to a division of Magadha into two factions, one led by a *sachiva* of king Brihadratha and the other by his Commander-in-Chief. From the inscription at Junagarh it appears that Rudradaman had to spend from his own treasure for public purposes because of the opposition of his ministers.

We have no evidence of legislative action in the strict sense. The king took action by decree (*shasana*: the "impesrial edicts" of the Guptas); the general form is given by Kautilya, who distinguishes seven types according to their subject-matter. But Kautilya has in view written documents, prepared in the chancellery; those of which history has records are the edicts which are engraved on stone or metal, perhaps an innovation of Asoka. The promulgation of a *shasana* was perhaps the occasion of a sort of ritual. It was not a "law": it concerned a particular case falling within the general framework of dharma, and it was declaratory and not originative.

The royal decree was valid until explicitly countermanded, or until the end of the reign.

THE SUPERINTENDENTS

§51. *The Superintendents.* The highly organised state contemplated by Kautilya is distinguished by the presence of a certain number of *adhyaksha,* "superintendents" or ephors, charged with the control of various branches of the economy. Although subordinate to the ministers and dignitaries, as is shown by their rates of pay (see §89) and by the severe punishments to which they were liable for what may appear trivial causes, they were nevertheless, in the extent of their functions, the real clerical staff of the state. Kautilya describes twenty eight types of functions and refers incidentally to several others. The order of rank among them is uncertain. They all seem to have been in some degree subordinate to two administrators, the samahartri or "collectors", who drew up the state budget, looked for new sources of revenue, and tried to achieve an equilibrium in the public finances; they directed the work of the *gopa* or "guardians", local officials in charge of the land revenue survey and tax assessment. The *samahartri* also had certain police powers and powers of justice in criminal cases. The *samnidhatri* or "depositary general" received the sums in kind or cash which fed the treasury, and guarded the buildings where they were stored. The proper function of the *adhyaksha* was to prepare, each in his own domain, the material for the management of these two dignitaries in the best interests of the state. They were charged with the administration of the property of the crown, farms and monopolies, the maintenance of the register in which were inscribed the legal penalties and other claims, and to receive "treasure", precious stones, forest products and other goods which accrued to the public treasury. The inspector of mines supervised not only the work carried out in the mines, but also the prices and sale of the produce: thus he controlled the circulation and value of money, and had under his orders or at least under his supervision the controller of non-precious metals, the controller of the coinage of money, and the controller of salt, which was a state monopoly. The control of gold and of objects into the manufacture of which gold entered was rigorous: a special official had charge of this matter. The *ephor* of the treasury was in charge of the money and goods derived from taxes. The official in charge of weights and measures fixed the standards and stamped the instruments in the possesion of merchants; one of his colleagues did the same for measures of length and

time. The *ephor* of taxes collected the dues on sales, and in particular the customs dues.

Other categories of officials had a more directly economic functions: the superintendent of commodities controlled economic practices and average prices; the forest official supervised the collection of forest products and their working up into manufactured goods. The superintendent of "thread" had control of the workshops for spinning, weaving, etc., including the domestic industry; he watched both output and conditions of work. In agriculture the superintendent prepared the seeds, verified the state of the soil, and of irrigation, decided the manner of cultivation, controlled the crops, and distributed labour by fixing appropriate types of contract. Officials of the same rank were the *ephor* for cattle and that for pastures, who knew the treatment of land, the numbers and state of health of the herds, and their productivity. Even gleaning and the collection of brushwood were thus controlled.

Still other industries were subject to control: alcoholic drinks, and therefore also the drink-shops, slaughter-houses, with special vigilance as regards animals whose slaughter was forbidden, and hetairæ, for the needs of the palace. The *ephor* of ships was concerned principally with taxes on sea and river traffic and port fees. Those for horses, elephants, chariots and troops shared the responsibility of keeping in the best possible condition the great corps which constituted the army, but the first three were also in charge of stud-farms or parks used for other than military purposes. To these must be added an official in charge of the production of arms. Finally there was an inspector of passports, and another for religious institutions.

THE BUREAUCRACY

§52. This bureaucracy is hardly known from other sources. Those who believe in the authenticity of Kautilya's book incline to see in this system an innovation of the first of the Mauryas, already in decline under Asoka, since the data on his period show little agreement with those of Kautilya. The "overseers" of Megasthenes, the "seventh class" of his hierarchy, are not what are referred to here: we must rather think of the *agoranomes* and the *astynomes* (who with the soldiers form the three colleges of the state), or again of the *saurophylakes* and *tamiai* of Arrian. Nowhere else is this organisation to be met with; even the names *samahartri* and *samnidhatri*, which form the keystone of the system, are almost unknown except to Kautilya (but see *Epigraphia Indica,* IX, p. 43, and

XI, p. 94, and Orissa inscriptions); which however does not necessarily imply that we are discussing a mere Utopia.

The state which Kautilya describes manages its resources to the best advantage: it makes private enterprise serve its purposes, restraining individual gains within wise limits without hampering initiative; on the other hand it ensures the productivity of the "unified" and "multiplied" enterprises (Kautilya II, 16), that is, those which it manages directly through officials, and those which it leases out. It is not necessary to infer a preference for state control, but merely a desire to balance the budget, to increase production, and to maintain the economy in times of crisis.

In the Vedic era the central administration was in the hands of the "jewels" or "possessors of jewels" (See § 45), whose real functions are but dimly discernible under their titles of cup-bearer, constable, assessor, dice-thrower, etc. In the epics we find mention of eighteen *tirtha* or high dignitaries. Their titles are given differently in each text. The inscriptions show that the same person could bear a number of offices. Finally in Asoka's time the practice was to replace certain functionaries every five years or every three years (*anusamyana*), in order principally to maintain a judicious control over outlying provinces.

OTHER HIGH OFFICIALS

§53 *Other high officials.* The post of ambassador, which is mentioned as early as Asoka, is naturally a high office, but the terms referring to one who holds it (*duta*) also denotes a messenger of any kind, the lowest categories being those of spies, policemen and provocateurs, on which Kautilya delights to dwell (Kautilya I, 16). It is not surprising if a foreign prince defends himself against them, if not by putting them to death, at least by inflicting exemplary punishment (*Ramayana,* V, 25, 14 et seq). As to ambassadors, their persons were, at least theoretically, sacred.

Provincial governors or "lieutenants" of the king are mentioned in various periods, and it is possible that this was already the position of the Vedic *sthapati,* though other functions have been ascribed to him. Under Asoka we hear of a *kumara,* "prince", or an *aryaputra,* "lord", who "governs at Tosali with the *mahamatra*"; and there are references to other lieutenancies in this period at Ujjayini, at Suvarnagiri, at Taksashila, and perhaps at other places. Later we find the titles of *rastriya* under Rudradaman (but the *rastriya* of the dramas is merely the brother-in-law of the king, like *Sakara* of the *Mrichchhakatika*), the *rastrika* of other inscriptions the

goptri, "protector", and the *uparika* (maharaja) of the Gupta, and the *rastrapala* of Kautilya.

The military officers (to whom we shall return, §69) often take on civil functions, like the *senapati* or "head of the army" who in the Jatakas appears principally as a magistrate. In the Vedic period various kinds of *pati* or "chiefs" hold sway, whose functions appear ill defined. From the time of Bimbisara we hear of mahamatra or "men of high rank", and this title is found until the Satavahanas; sometimes they are prefects of districts or provincial cities, with military powers in addition, sometimes they are judicial officers or land survey or financial officials; some are "fit for anything". It is a mistake to equate them with ministers, or with the "superintendents" of Kautilya, who mentions their title separately, though very rarely. Some of them under Asoka had well-defined functions, such as the antamahamatra, a sort of *margrave* similar to the *antapala* or frontier guard of Kautilya, the *stryadhyaksha,* "supervisor of women", referred to in the epics, the *vrachabhumika,* perhaps originally a "guard of the pastures", and above all the *dharmamahamatra,* in charge of religious propaganda and the suppression of abuses. The *rajuka* or *lajuka* had judicial or financial posts; they are found before Maurya times, although the *rajjuka* or *rajjugrahaka* of the Jatakas remained, what their title implies, land surveyors and rural inspectors: Megasthenes testifies to the importance of the land survey. The *pradesika* of the Mauryas have been compared, but fruitlessly, with the *pradestri* of Kautilya. The *yuta* (*yukta*) of the early inscriptions are secretaries in charge of the codification of edicts, apparently more important personages than the *yukta* or administrative clerks of the Smriti, and the *yukta* (*ka*), *upayukta* (*ka*) and *niyukta* (*ka*) which abound in the later inscriptions.

After Maurya times there appear treasury officials (*ganjavara* of a Mathura inscription, *bhandagarika* in an inscription at Nasik) officials in charge of foreign relations (*samdhivigrahika,* "delegated for peace and war", privy councillors (*matisachiva, rahasyadhikrita*), those in charge of archives (*mahasamiya*), etc.; several titles are known, particularly from Buddhist sources. With the Guptas the titles increase in number and acquire laudatory epithets; thus the Basar seals display a great wealth of titles.

OTHER OFFICIALS

§54. *Medium and lower officials.* At the lower levels, only the village administration is relatively well known. The ancient term *grama*—originally "assembly" of men in arms—must

have corresponded roughly to our notion of "commune": that is, it is the unit cell of the social structure, and it represents in history the stable part of the Indian organisation. At the head of the village is the *gramika,* in the place of the Vedic *gramani,* who was primarily a local military leader, a "rural chief"; the *gramika* was assisted by "old men" or *gramavriddha,* and by "stipendiaries" or *bhojaka* (the *jagirdars* of the Muslim era), who made up a rudimentary council, in which connection with the central power was maintained by a delegate from the king, the *gramabhritaka* or *gameyika.* It is more especially in the South that the village assemblies flourished with judicial and executive powers, and some rights in regard to religious foundations.

Under the Pallava and the Gupta there appears at the head of the district an *ayuktaka,* or sometimes a *vyaprita,* one "appointed to conduct business". As to the administration of the city, we know of it mainly from Kautilya (II, 36), who deals with it from the standpoints of finance and of public order. It includes *gopa,* a subordinate official supervising from ten to forty families, the *sthanika,* whose jurisdiction covers a fourth part of the city, and the *nagarika,* a kind of prefect whose position in the town is comparable to that of the *samahartri* in the kingdom as a whole. The first two may correspond to the *hyparch* and the *nomarch* of *Arrian.* The nagaraka of Asoka are administrators included in the number of the mahamatra. The facts given by Megasthenes (via Strabo) diverge considerably from the Indian sources as regards the *rajadhani,* the capital, the seat of the palace, of the government, and of the supreme court. According to him it was administered by six colleges of five members each, the astynomes, without a presidium. Under the Guptas the urban council included among others the chief of the merchants, the chief of the bankers, and the chief of the *kayastha* (see §8).

FUNCTIONS OF SPIES

§ 55. *The "spies".* Throughout early Indian history we meet references to "spies" the *spas* or watchers of the Veda, who keep an eye on men for the records of the god Varuna. But it is with Kautilya that the class of the *chara,* corresponding in part to the sixth class of the Greek sources, takes on the character of an institution: They are responsible for knowing what is said in town and in country, on the frontiers and at court, for studying the conduct of officials and even of ministers, and for reporting public opinion. Some are given definite tasks; others are "mobile" (this is strictly the meaning

of the term *chara,* and again of *samcharantaka*): they are despatched to foreign countries, and play a very important part in war and times of preparation for war. Theirs is the responsibility for "silent warfare" and "silent punishment", that is to say, effecting the disappearance of inconvenient persons, and other disreputable offices, black magic, etc. They assume many disguises, and are recruited from all castes, and all occupations, including Brahmans, outcasted and otherwise. The theory is set forth quite clearly already in the *Mahabharata* (I, 142, Bombay ed.); it cannot be dismissed merely as a product of the "machiavellism" of Kautilya: it is an application of *dharma* to national defence.

The *pativedaka* of Asoka, who have sometimes been regarded as spies, are rather agents of the court sent on confidential missions; with Asoka they seem to be an innovation, perhaps comparable to the pravrittivyaprita of the Jains, who reported to the king on the actions of Mahavira.

"SERVANTS OF THE KING"

§ 56 The class of officials as a whole (*rajapurusha,* "servants of the king": the *purusha* of Asoka were subordinate employees) enjoyed certain privileges in civil law, particularly in family matters: the wife of an absent official could not marry again; they were exempt from distraint for debt during their period of service; they could not be compelled to give evidence except in official matters. They were given certain concessions in case of sickness, and for their children. For their pay, see § 89.

The system of administrative divisions varied, but less noticeably than the names of offices. In the Veda there are indications of a territorial division, apparently on an ethnic basis, rising from the grama, a group of families, to the *vis* or "clan" and above the *vis* the *jana* or "tribe"; but the gradation is variable. According to Kautilya the kingdom is divided into four provinces, subdivided into groups of 10, 200, 400 and 800 gramas; the headquarters of the groups of 800 or *sthaniya* is a sort of treasury in which the revenue of the district is kept: this therefore is a primarily fiscal division. Asoka had four or five provinces, subdivided into *ahara, pradesa, visaya.* These names and some others, such as *janapada,* "region", persist into later times, when the *visaya* generally designates a small area, a canton, itself subdivided into *vithi* (in Gupta times). With the Guptas appears the term bhukti, "profession", which denotes, as sometimes also does *desa,* a larger territory, ruled

by a prince or a governor. The term *mandala,* "cricle", occurs especially in the South.

TAXES

§ 57. *Finance.* Our knowledge of the public finances is more certain than on most subjects, since the brief indications of the Smriti and the very precise data in Kautilya can be fruitfully compared with a great deal of material derived from inscriptions. The treatment of the subject often begins with moralising maxims. Writers delight to lay it down that the *kosa,* "treasury", is the most precious possession of the king, that it is "the king in person" (*Nitivakyamrita,* XXI, 7) and "the root of kings" (*Kamandaki Nitisastra,* XXI, 33). Taxes are the price paid by the citizens for the services performed by the king in assuring them peace and the free enjoyment of their possessions, *yogakshema*: This sort of tacit contract implies that the king is responsible for his administration, and that the people can, theoretically, lay claims against an administration that has served them badly.

Taxes had come into existence by the time of the *Aitareya Brahmana,* which speaks (VII, 29) of the Vaisya as being the tributary of others; the word for tribute, *bali* (which also, in early times, designated the idemnity imposed on a defeated enemy), is the same word which was used for the daily oblation to the *bhuta* ("beings") made outside the sacrificial area. The word bali occurs already in the *Rigveda* in a sense which is scarcely metaphorical, to mean tribute.

There was a great variety of taxes, greater undoubtedly than in any other ancient society. The Smriti lays it down that the rate of taxation must not be excessive, that it is to the interest of the king as well as of the subject to keep it within reasonable limits, in order that the one and the other should "participate in the reward of labour" (Manu, VII, 128). It is necessary to proceed like the gardener, who picks only ripe fruit, or like the bloodsucker, who "takes his nourishment drop by drop" (VII, 12, 129): that is to say, raise the taxes at the most convenient times and places. There are indications in the *Mahabharata* (XII, 87, et seq) of an attempt to impose commercial taxes on the net profit, with allowance for costs and risks incurred. The prince is recommended to place in reserve a part of his revenue and to increase his capital like a person who saves "be it only a single *kaparda* (*kauri,* see § 88) a day" (*Nitivakyamrita,* XXI, 4). Various injunctions of Kautilya make sense only in relation to a general policy of financial caution.

THE SOURCES OF REVENUE

§ 58. *Taxes.* The principal source of revenue was the land. The "part" of the king, the *bhaga*, mentioned in all the texts from epic times on, must have consisted originally of products of the soil and of the dairy. It is in principle one sixth, and the king was called "the holder of the sixth part." The difficulties begin when we try to discover how this "tithe" was effectively collected. First of all the rate was not invariable. Kautilya speaks of one third or one fourth for land of the highest productivity (V, 2), the figure of one sixth applying to forest products and saleable commodities in general, and one half to ivory and skins. Other texts allow us to infer deductions ranging from one fourth to one twelfth. The *Manasara* reckons it in a curious way according to the importance of the king, the "emperor" (*chakravartin*) limiting his deduction to one tenth. The *bhaga* must have been estimated, at least after a certain period, in money, but it was payable in kind, in grain duly weighed.

There were special taxes, the names of which however were variable, on a number of products of the soil, fruit, pastures, honey, and timber; the term *hiranya* may mean a tax on gold, or a tax, the incidence of which cannot be determined, payable in gold. A number of other taxes of various kinds were given the collective name of *bali*, which is also employed at all periods as an equivalent of *bhaga*. Such are the *pindakara*, a tax levied on the village (an interesting case of collective imposition), and the *kara*, a periodical, perhaps annual tax, on property or on income. From Gupta times onwards there occur the *udranga* and the *uparikara*, taxes payable by the temporary or permanent occupants of a leased plot of land.

Other taxes were levied for special services rendered to the rural population: thus protection against theft from pastures and fields gave rise to a police tax, as also the costs of surveys, and of irrigation works, or at least the undertaking of canals, etc.

A group of taxes are included under the term *sulka*: the word, which has other meanings (see § 16), has borne the sense of "tax" since Panini; it covers octroi duties, customs duties, and various commercial taxes. On goods imported from the country to the town the tax was 20%, but it might range as low as 5% or 4% for timber, cereals and fats (there were four tariffs altogether). Megasthenes speaks of a tax of one tenth on sales. There was a right of levying tolls, which

might amount to one fifth of the principal tax. Certain articles were exempt, in particular those used for religious purposes. Kautilya is alone in recommending the concentration of sales in the place where the taxes are imposed, in order to facilitate recovery (see § 86).

The sale of liquor was subject to regulation, with high taxes, except when a special licence was given on days of feasts or assemblies.

Merchants paid a stamping tax every four months, at the time of checking of weights and measures. All merchandise was subject to taxation during transport; not only the use of royal ships, for example, for fishing, gave occasion for hiring charges (confirmed by Strabo), but even the use of private boats; while there was a tax on entry into a port, and on the various modes of transport on land, even when there was no hire of vehicles, porters or animals. Export was subject to special surveillance: certain products were forbidden export, arms, skins, jewels, grain, cattle, on pain of fine or confiscation. It was allowed only if, when all the charges had been paid, it left a sufficient margin of profit. The import of certain grains was allowed without taxes.

LIGHT TAX

§ 59. Artisans paid, according to their qualifications, 10 to 20% of their profits in periods of "distress," which implies the existence of a light tax (confirmed, it is thought, by the Greek sources) in normal periods. But more commonly we hear, for artisans and workers, of a tax in the form of work to be done for the benefit of the state: thus Kautilya (II, 15) mentions such a tax on men engaged in the preparation of rice, flour, oil and sugar. As to the tax of "one day's labour" (per month) demanded in the Smriti, no doubt it refers to a mode of evaluation, rather than to actual work. *Visti* or "corvee" has however existed, sometimes as a substitute, voluntary or compulsory, for a normal payment, and sometimes as an additional imposition; it is known from Kautilya, and attested in inscriptions from the time of Rudradaman.

We know that cattle-raisers paid taxes, sometimes in kind (eight measures of butter per year), or in money [one *pana* (see § 89) per head of cattle], in addition to taxes on sales; Arrian refers to taxes on cattle, which the Smriti puts at only one fiftieth, without telling us how it was levied.

We can mention finally the taxes on passports, on slaughter-houses (varying according to the kind of animals killed), and on prostitutes, who had to pay two days' earnings per

month. Still many points remain obscure. It appears that there was a tax on buildings (or only on sites?), and a tax on shops; perhaps there was also a special tax on incomes, to which Megasthenes may have alluded, applied to residents of towns not subject to the "tithe."

LAND REGISTER

§ 60. This complex system presupposes a land register kept up to date, and a systematic survey of economic resources, and especially of rural resources: the area of villages and estates, the number of persons, by houses and families, lands, taxable property, record of transfers of property and of mortgages, classification of lands, etc. The officials were, at the lowest rank, the *gopa* (see § 54), and the whole hierarchy of employees which culminated in the *samahartri* (see § 51) worked in close connection with this great network of statistical information and fiscal operation.

Except in the case of collective taxation, the state dealt with the assessee without any other intermediary. However there are texts which make reference to "concessionaries."

There was provision for relief, and indeed for advances, in money or in goods (carrying interest at only 1%—*Mahabharata*, I, 5, 68), either when the region had suffered economically, or in order to promote some special development. Kautilya emphasises the need to encourage internal colonisation, the opening up of new land and its distribution, in general, with hereditary titles to ownership; but generally when the state undertook development, proprietary rights were acquired only by the first generation of colonists.

Tax exemptions were granted in favour of minors, of women (or only of pregnant women), the sick, the old, and ascetics (it is perhaps only figurative when the *Raghuvamsa* (V, 8) speaks of the "tithe paid by hermits"). As to Brahmans, who "paid their taxes in the form of their pious deeds" (*Vishnu Purana*, III, 27), they were freed from this duty by a sort of divine right. The position of the Kshtriyas is more difficult to determine: the silence of the epic and Buddhist sources on this matter seems to show that they also must have benefited from an exemption, which may have been collective or individual. Benefactions made in favour of Brahmans (see § 33) regularly carried the privilege of exemption from taxes or from certain taxes, and if we are to take this evidence at its face value, these concessions amounted to a considerable loss of revenue to the state. The qualification must be noticed, however, that the donor reserved some control over the pro-

perty, so that misuse of the gift, or failure to execute a clause, or even loss of the title deeds, could lead to its resumption. Under Asoka some villages were "evempt from *bali*"; in others the tax was reduced to one eighth of the produce.

There were however still other concessions: Kautilya mentions the "gift of hospitality," that is to say the tolls of the piece of land made over for some pious purpose; and gifts were made to various officials as remuneration for their services. In the epics, and even in Manu, we find a sort of table of precedence on this subject: the supervisor of ten villages had the right to a *kula* of land (that is, an average "family" estate, as much, it was said, as twelve oxen could plough); the head of twenty villages had five *kulas;* the head of a hundred villages had a whole village; and the head of a thousand villages had the right to a city (Manu, VII, 119). Finally, a certain privilege was granted to *ayudhiya,* regions which provided men for war.

EXISTENCE OF PRIVATE PROPERTY

§ 61. *State lands and monopolies.* A difficult problem is that of the royal estates, the form finally assumed by the ancient tribal lands. The royal estate was managed by special officers, and its produce went naturally to the public granaries. However, a part of the estate could be leased to farmers, who were of two types: those who provided oxen and materials, and kept half the crop as their reward (these are the half-labourers of the Smriti); and those who provided only labour, and could therefore claim only a fourth or fifth part of the crop. The term *sita* in Kautilya designates the cultivation of royal farms and allotments. The system may date from Maurya times. This is the basis of the much-discussed statement of Megasthenes, that the whole of the land belonged to the king, the cultivators having a right to one fourth of the crop (in Strabo's version), or paying a fixed rent plus one fourth of their profit (in Diodorus' version). According to Fa-hien (and, less definitely, Hiuan-tsang), only those who cultivated royal lands paid part of their rent in kind. Under the Guptas, the state was the proprietor of all uncultivated land, which it was watchful to preserve against alienation.

On the basis of the Greek evidence and of inferences drawn from Indian texts, some authors have denied the existence of private property. They cite passages like Manu VIII, 39: "The king receives half of any ancient treasure and metals found in the earth, because he gives protection: is he not the master of the earth?" It is clear that here we have mere legal

maxims, to which others can be opposed (such as *Mimamsa Sutra*, VI, 7, 3, and Sabaraswamin, ad loc.). The elaborate taxation policy of the Indian state, or at least of the state described by Kautilya, (the peasant as a fiscal serf, as it has been expressed), together with the direct management or lease of the royal estates, has given the impression of a general state proprietorship. In fact the greater part of the land must have been owned privately, as genuine property, subject to the condition that the cultivator respected his obligations to the treasury, and that he farmed the land in the required manner.

Apart from the royal lands, there were enterprises the profits from which went directly into the treasury: such as the spinning and weaving factories, and the establishments working in gold and silver. No article could be transported or sold outside the official market. As for money, licences were given at various times to particular persons to manufacture money for the state, in return for a charge amounting to 13% of the total; thus under the Mauryas corporative groups were allowed to mint coins.

The working of mines was sometimes regarded as a monopoly (this is the conclusion which has been supposed to follow from Kautilya and from the *Vishnu Purana*, and even from a passage in the *Mahabharata*, XII, 69, 29), and sometimes it seems to have been left to private initiative, but subject to such severe taxation (not less than ten different taxes, including taxes on the sale of manufactured articles, export licences, and fines) that it was equivalent to confiscation by the state. By "mines" is meant not only minerals properly so called, but precious stones (and by analogy coral and pearls), and salt, whatever its source: in regard to salt, there appears to have been a monopoly, combined with administrative charges and a network of taxes (four taxes imposed on the seller, and two others on the purchaser). The monopoly of horses and elephants alleged by Megasthenes is not confirmed from the Indian side. Finally the rigorous regulation of gambling with the 5% tax on stakes, the letting of rooms, and the system of fines and control, almost bring it within the bounds of state administration.

OTHER SOURCES OF REVENUE

§ 62. *Other sources of revenue.* Quite different sources are those which result from civil and penal legislation. First we may recall the law (see § 14) that the king became the proprietor of all property left without a claimant (except the property of Brahmans), save a part which had to be set aside for

the funeral expenses and the maintenance of the widow. There is literary evidence of this tradition, and in *Sakuntala* we see the property of a childless merchant who had died at sea on the point of being taken by the treasury, when the pious Dusyanta, hearing that one of the widows of the merchant is pregnant, orders the transfer of the property to the future infant. In the same way articles found (see § 30) became the king's property, subject to being kept in a depot for three years (see Manu, VIII, 30). As for objects stolen or lost and then recovered, the king received his share, and the owner could be sentenced to a fine of five times the value if he could not prove his rights.

Fines and the confiscation of objects illicitly retained or transported were the regular procedure in the matter of private and commercial offences, and the very extent of the system of fines (not to mention religious penalties) is sufficient evidence of their value for the replenishment of the royal treasury. According to the *Mahabharata* (XII, 77) the king could inflict a "tax" on an unworthy Brahman. Finally, a supplementary tax (*utsanga*) could be levied on the occasion of an important event or feast.

NEW TAXES

§ 63. All these provisions refer to normal administration. For times of war, there must be added the yield from requisitions, tribute imposed on the enemy, etc. We must consider in particular the case of "distress," (*apad*), when the king was compelled rapidly to replenish an exhausted treasury. Then new taxes made their appearance, notably the *pranaya* ("willing gift": a euphemism), a tax levied only once and at no fixed rate, but liable to amount to confiscation of half the product of the soil and of certain manufactured goods; some persons were exempt from the *pranaya*. Kautilya describes other procedures which permitted a king "without treasure" to deal with a critical situation (V, 2): officials were put in charge of raising donations and organising public subscriptions; and the king could order the seizure of the property of "heretics" (a term of alarming vagueness), of corporations, and even of religious establishments, and could go so far as to make use of subterfuges based on superstition or fear. Spies were set to work, disguised, for example, as merchants, who would make off with the money without delivering the goods; others would take advantage of family quarrels to levy blackmail on people in whose record they found some vulnerable point. This is one aspect of the cynicism of Kautilya, which

however in essence is only a form of *rajadharma,* or as we should put it, *raison d'etat.*

The Smriti makes no mention of public loans. The *Avadanasataka* refers to the case of a merchant who lends the king of Kosala some pieces of gold to help him in his war against Magadha.

FISCAL LEGISLATION

Despite some sinister features of the fiscal legislation, and in particular the "good pleasure" of the king, the total impression is not one of an excessive burden, by the standards of antiquity. Undoubtedly the danger of improper taxes must often have materialised, under despotic kings, and even more often under prodigal kings, eager to maintain a magnificent court or to cause themselves to be remembered by lavish gifts: "all profits become pure in the hands of a king" as Narada says (XVIII, 46). We must also remember the excessive zeal of the tax collectors, the feared *niggahaka* of the Jatakas. The evidence of the *Rajatarangini* is late, but is consistently pessimistic, and develops in a hundred ways the theme of exactions and fiscal oppression.

But the normal taxation, the *bhaga* of one sixth, the reality of which Hiuan-tsang establishes for his time, cannot have been generally exceeded, and is tolerable. Many kings prided themselves on their moderation: even Rudradaman, whose palace shone with jewels, boasted that he had acquired them by regular taxes; he was able to build the Sudarsana dam without having recourse to extraordinary contributions. The picture drawn by Fa-hien, and especially by Hiuan-tsang, is definitely favourable. It would be arbitrary to give a gloomy account of the situation of the peasant in antiquity on the basis of the misery which followed the Muslim invasions. A striking feature—and a painful one, had it not been for the fatalism inherent in the belief in the necessity of castes—was the disproportion between the taxes on the ordinary people and those levied from the Kshatriya, and still more, the Brahmans (but perhaps only certain categories of Brahmans were privileged?); and equally the disproportion between the rewards of the high officials and those of the average state employee.

§ 64. *Public expenditure.* The description of the public expenditure is infinitely less elaborate. We have a list of eighteen heads of expenditure (the traditional figure), not further developed, in Kautilya. It includes donations and religious ceremonies, the maintenance of the palace (the

women's department, the kitchens, court ceremonial), the expenses inseparable from state enterprises, stores, arsenals, factories, military expenses, the costs of state-employed labour. To these must be added the pay of the innumerable officials and workers necessitated by the direct management of so many enterprises, and the control maintained over so many sectors of the economy. According to many trustworthy sources, the armed forces were paid. Finally the budget made provision for reserves against famine or other public calamities, for various kinds of relief, for the starting and maintenance of works of public benefit, roads, canals, land clearing, the laying out of parks, and the extension of cities; and finally for the payment of pensions.

It remains to discover whether the budget was balanced. Certain facts tend to show that they tried to achieve a surplus.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICS AND WAR

§ 65. *The Main Themes of Politics.* The aim of the royal power was not merely to maintain but to extend itself. "The king who does not offer the horse sacrifice (symbol of conquest, of which the sacrifice marks the culmination) incurs all the sins of the kingdom" (*Mahabharata*, XII, 8, 35). The ideal of every sovereign was the conquest of the whole earth (that is the meaning of *chakravartin*: see § 43), just as war, which was the necessary means to it, was the supreme purpose of the hero (this is the teaching, as we know, of so eminently religious a text as the *Bhagavadgita*). Literature has stylised this theme in the conventional description which it gives of the *digvijaya* or "conquest of the directions," of which there are many examples in inscriptions, and of which the prototype is the expedition of the four younger Pandavas towards the four points of the compass (*Mahabharata,* II, 25-32) or that of Karna acting on behalf of the Kauravas (*Mahabharata,* III, 253). It is referred to as early as in the *Satapatha-Brahmana,* and the romantic tales make use of the theme (*Kathasaritsagara,* XIX, *Kadambari, Dasakumaracharita*).

Conquests vary in merit. Kautilya (XII, I) distinguishes that made in the spirit of the Law, that motivated by greed for wealth, and that called "of the Asuras." The first, the

dharmavijaya, is not warlike, or not necessarily warlike, as in the instance of the conquests of Asoka, who knew the term: it was an act of propagation of the Law, a "conversion," which made use of force only when persuasion had failed. Even in Kautilya's account, where warlike methods are so crudedly stressed, war is considered an inferior method, the aim being to attain the wished-for result with the least risk.

The first necessity was to estimate one's own resources and those of neighbouring states. There were then six policies, forming what was called the *sadgunya*: he who practised them appropriately was the master of the situation. First was peace, which had to be preserved if one was the weakest; war, which was used if one was the strongest; waiting, if the chances of the two sides were equal; the attack (by surprise) if one had the necessary means; "recourse" to others, in other words a search for allies, if one could not attain one's ends alone; and finally "double conduct" or a double game, if one preferred to take help from others. The speech on diplomacy delivered by Kanika to the old Dhritarashtra can be summed up in this teaching: destroy the enemy, without pity and by any means.

Even if one has decided to go to war, the best way is first to use diplomatic means: win a neighbouring king to one's side, even if his behaviour is clearly hostile, look for allies, even at the cost of prestige. Especially when in a critical position, one must seek to divide the enemy, to come to terms with a neighbour, either by a (feigned) submission, or by yielding certain advantages; meanwhile doing everything to increase one's strength, to improve one's arms, to increase one's stores, to raise output, recruit troops, and intensify espionage, which is a major factor in success. In the last resort one must contemplate retreat to an inaccessible place, or flight, but even a humiliating submission is better than that. Diplomacy does not stop there: under the appearance of a loyal fulfilment of the treaty, the king will strive to gain advantages which he will use to deceive the conqueror. It is suggested, for example, how he might contrive to rescue through an underground tunnel the prince whom he has been compelled to surrender as a hostage. Yudhishthira himself, the "king who embodied the Law," used deceitful methods against Drona, and the defied tribal chief Krishna recommended their use.

The search for allies is a serious problem: the king must weaken an ally who is too powerful, for example, by involving him in another war, or by inciting his subjects to revolt; he

must destroy an ally who veers towards another alliance; he must choose one who has in view the same aims as himself, but should not necessarily bar one with whom his interests clash or one who is tied to him by mutual interests. The object is always the same: to impose one's own law.

THE THEORY OF CIRCLES

§ 66. *The theory of circles.* These ideas have led to the elaboration of an expressive geographical image: the "conquerring" king (*vijigisu*) is at the centre of a sort of chess-board. He has before him an enemy, beyond that a friend, beyond that a friend of his enemy, then a friend of his friend, and last a friend of the friend of his enemy. Behind him lie, successively, the enemy called "he who seizes with his claws," then "the friend behind," "the friend of the enemy behind," and "the friend of the friend behind." At the side is the "middle" power (or "mediator", as it is sometimes, less plausibly, translated), that is one of average strength and "seated above" (not "neutral"), a powerful kingdom of which one must ensure the neutrality, or at least counteract the pressure with the help of neighbouring states. This naive figure of twelve circles (*mandala*)—the term recalls the old cosmic image of the wheel and the ritual of the magic circle—owes something, perhaps, to the system of circles of the rite of the twelve days, as it is described, for example, in the *Aitareya Brahmana* (IV, 23). In any case it sets forth in the Indian fashion a definite reality, the fact that contact between states causes enmity, and that there is a need to arrange "encircling" alliances, and to conciliate third parties. Kautilya's treatment has given rise to a discussion, what type of state he has in view, since its external policy seems to be grounded in a different basis from its internal policy: this latter is appropriate to a great and highly organised state, while the former is suitable to a number of principalities of limited size.

THE ARMY

§67. *The army.* Kautilya and other sources distinguish six types of armies of successively decreasing value. First are the hereditary (*maula*) troops, a sort of permanent guard, reliable, well paid, subjected to several years' training, who are committed to battle only in case of necessity. Next are the mercenaries, who formed no doubt the bulk of the army: the king always had them at his disposal and employed them in current operations. The "bands" were perhaps recruited, as their name suggests, on a corporative (or regional?) basis, but their posi-

tion is not clear. "Allies" were used with prudence, in tentative operations, so far as one was not sure of their loyalty. "Enemy" troops are irregulars who have been brought to one's side by conquest or pay: one is careful not to use them against their compatriots. Finally "savages" or "forest men" are those whom one has attracted by dangling before them the prospect of booty. The *Mahabharata* (XV, 7, 7 et seq) gives a similar list, in which we find mentioned the *charabala* (met with elsewhere under the name *charabhata* or *chatabhata*), "mobile" troops equipped for a punitive expedition.

It is unlikely that there was compulsory service, even for the *maula* troops. In general, troops were recruited according to the needs of the moment.

Another classification, evidently largely fictitious, follows the lines of caste. Kautilya (IX, 2), who is our source, recognises that caste has little to do with military prowess, that Brahmans could be bought; and on the other hand that well-trained Kshatriyas formed the elite—no doubt it was they who filled the ranks of the *maula*.

From the point of view of a different classification, since the *Mahabharata* the army was divided into four main corps, and all later literature repeats this enumeration. According to the usual order the elephants come first, then the cavalry, the chariots, and last the infantry. The epics refer sometimes to six corps, adding to these the navy and the spies, or even to eight corps, including civilian "workers" (in charge of engineering work and supplies), and "guides" or "auxiliaries" (*Mahabharata*, XII, 59, 41; 121, 44). The unit was the *patti*, which consisted of a chariot, an elephant, three horses and five infantrymen; there followed the *senamukha*, the *gulma*, the *gana*, and so on, each three times the size of the one before; the largest unit was the *akshauhini*, with 21,870 chariots and elephants, 65,610 horses, and 109,350 infantrymen. Other divisions, given with less pedantic accuracy, and therefore more likely to reflect reality, are known from epic and Buddhist sources (cf. or example, *Mahabharata*, V,1152). We note the slight importance of the infantry, to which however the bulk of the auxiliaries must be added.

THE ELEPHANT CORPS

§68. *The corps of the army.* The most precise description is of the elephant corps; we have seen that there was a civilian inspector in charge of the parks (§51). The training to which these animals were subjected was such that they would face the ordeal of battle effectively, would obey the order to attack,

and would keep their place in the column. We are told how they were harnessed, and how their limbs were protected by leather coverings; their arms (lance, quiver) were fixed to the saddle. It was preferred not to use them in the hottest months. The function of the elephants was not only to charge the enemy lines and throw his ranks into disorder, or to destroy the fences of camps and the ramparts of fortified places; they were also beasts of burden. The *Raghuvamsa* (IV, 38; XVI, 33) shows how they served as mobile bridges, like bridges of boats (which were also used), in order to cross water-courses. They carried, in addition to the driver, two or three men, and each elephant was protected by a small troop of combatants, and followed by non-combatants and carriages. They were in fact regarded as the most precious possessions: the victory of the king depended upon them, and a single one of these beasts in anger was more valuable than six thousand horses. It was the fighting animal of the peoples of the North, in particular of the Salva (*Mahabharata,* IX, 20), the horse being that of the Arya; hence perhaps the fact that Brahmans did not mount elephants, and that only the Kshatriya, descendants of all the warlike clans, used it for military as well as ceremonial purposes.

The horse, provided with a bit but no saddle (according to the Greek evidence), served as a draught animal and as a mount. It was used for reconnoissance, and to pierce the enemy's line. There was a heavy cavalry, protected by armour. The mounted units had corps of grooms and trainers, and were accompanied by foot guards to protect their flanks.

In addition to the baggage vehicles there were war chariots, which in flat country performed a function similar to that of the cavalry. They were manned by two to twelve men (Megasthenes speaks of two fighting men, in addition to the driver), and were protected by a small escort. The driver or *suta* was a person of some importance in epic society; at least that was the case with the charioteer of a chief. The events at which he was present made him the historian of the court, and after the victory he would transmit in poem and panegyric the deeds of which he had been witness. Salya was the *suta* of Karna on the Kaurava side, and no less a person than Krishna was the driver of Arjuna's chariot and at the same time adviser to the Pandavas.

In the same way as for the horses, a royal inspector was in charge of the park where the chariots were maintained

ready for use. As for the infantry, they were trained by drill, digging trenches and building ramparts, and by night attacks, so that they were ready for action at any time, and on all kinds of terrain. Conscripted workers carried out engineering works, transported materials and supplies, carried off the wounded, etc. Manu (VII, 193) regarded the troops of Kurukshetra, of the Matsyas, the Panchalas and the Surasenas, as the best.

THE MILITARY COMMAND

§69. *The military command.* Command was exercised over groups of ten, a hundred, and a thousand men, while special officers were in charge of the chariots and the animals. The term *senapati*, "chief of the army", which also designates a subordinate officer (specifically the commander of ten groups of ten, or *padikas*), was applied to a leader who knew the art of war as much by experience or intuition as by the theoretical knowledge set forth in the *Dhanurveda*. The *Dhanurveda* or "Veda of the bow" is a body of teaching on war reputed to go back to the age of the *Yajurveda*. The *senapati*, like the *mahasenapati* whom we hear of under the Guptas, the *adhisenapati* of the epic age, the *mahasenagutta* of the *Jatakas*, and the *nayaka* of many texts, was an officer of rank equal or sometimes even superior to the crown prince; he was installed by a "ritual sprinkling" of the kingly type, as is shown by the example of Drona, the consecrated leader of the Kauravas. The king was the nominal supreme commander. According to Kautilya the King remained in camp, though the Smriti and literature in general often show us princes fighting in the front line: "in actual combat he must not spare his person" (*Avimaraka*, I, 12).

Orders were conveyed by signals, flags, or the sounds of musical instruments. Each small unit had its flag, and the *Mahabharata* (VII, 105) describes the personal standards of the principal heroes. The soothsayers, bards and priests exhorted the soldiers, while they informed the king of the best time for the attack. There was a ceremony of purification, *nirajana* (or nirajanâ), a waving of lights in front of the army before the battle (see *Brihatsamhita*, XLIV).

The longest marches were of two *yojanas* per day (Kautilya, X, 2): the *yojana* is a variable measure, sometimes longer, and equal to 8,000 bows' lengths or 32,000 cubits, or again to eight times the *krosa* or distance at which a shout could be heard, and sometimes shorter and half of the former.

THE WEAPONS OF BATTLE

§ 70. *Armaments*. The weapons used were very diverse. They include first a series of machines, of which it is not easy to decide the nature, or even to be sure in every case how they differed from individual arms: wheels which threw out slings as they revolved (the *sarvatobhadra*, or "that which pleased in all its parts"), clubs with iron spikes (the *sataghni* or "that which kills a hundred", well known in the battles of the epics), a catapult mounted on ramparts ("that which destroys confidence"), and a number of other instruments, fixed or mobile, with picturesque names, of which the *Nitiprakasika* and other late texts give the most complete lists. There were "fire-arms", *agneyastra*, in use from epic times onward: it has even been claimed that references to them are to be found in the Veda. They must in general have been balls filled with inflammable material (or material which was ignited by impact?), something of the type of the grenade, thrown by hand or from machines. Kautilya (XIII, 4) gives the composition of these weapons; one, for example, contained powder of *priyala* (piyal, Buchanania latifolia), the soot of *avalya* (Vernonia anthelminthica), and beeswax, mixed with several kinds of animals' dung. What is very improbable, in spite of the opinions of authors, is that ancient India was acquainted with powder as a means of propulsion. We have to come down to a recent text, the *Sukraniti*, and perhaps even there to an interpolated passage, to find mention of "tubes" (though the word is certainly old) used as individual arms or fixed on machines and throwing balls or bullets with the aid of a powder containing sulphur and salt-petre.

The Jaina texts (*Uvasagadasao*) describe some kinds of battering rams. Small arms are infinitely numerous, though here, as in other matters, the names doubtless include a number of synonyms. There were a series of lances, pikes, etc.; the ordinary lance, entirely of metal, measuring about 5 ft., 8 inches. There were various kinds of javelins, some of metal, some of wood with an iron head. The *tomara*, the principal weapon of the elephant corps, was a long javelin. Men used the trident, the disc, the sling, the club, the hammer, the battle-axe (notably one with three points), etc. The famous *vajra* was a throwing weapon, mentioned already in the Veda, but surrounded with confusion by mythical-naturalistic embroidery ("lightning" and "thunderbolt"). Iconography shows its nature quite clearly: it was a kind of dumbbell with

two jagged masses. There were curved sabres, swords of various types, generally long and thin, with horn, ivory, wood or bamboo handles of which exact measurements are given. One bore the name "more than thirty (fingers)", which also means "the cruel one". The mythological origin of the sword is the subject of a *Mahabharata* story (XII, 167).

The bow remained the weapon of the upper class. It was made from the wood of the palm-tree, from cane, hard wood, or horn; the best bows were about 5 ft. 8 inches long, and the string was a hemp, of bamboo bark, of tendon, etc. The stance of the archer is described, and the manner of drawing the arrow "to the ear" before letting it fly. Shooting with the bow was an important element in certain festivals, especially in the competition of the *swayamvara* (see §17), and there are endless descriptions of Arjuna's bow, Gandiva, richly ornamented, in various colours, "equal to a hundred thousand ordinary bows", which was made by Brahman.

The lasso was used by horsemen, and the art was taught in relation to the various paces of the horse.

Means of defence included armour of all kinds, from the suit of mail protecting the whole body, including the head, to shoulder-pieces, knee-pieces, gauntlets, etc. Certain shields (they were made of leather, woven cane, and wood) bore fanciful names, under which it is difficult to detect the reality. The literary evidence (*Mahabharata,* I, 229, Bombay edn.; *Agni Purana,* CCXLV et seq) is very inferior to the iconographic evidence on all these matters. There are representations of armed men and scenes of combat at Sanchi, Amaravati, Ajanta, etc., and the accepted images of the gods carry almost inevitably their weapons, the thunderbolt, disc., club, etc., often, it is true, highly stylised. The Greek sources confirm much of the information on the art of war and the types of armament we know from the Indian texts. Diodorus speaks of poisoned arrows, like those with heads of horn mentioned in the *Atharvaveda,* "coated with poison like a venomous serpent".

Certain Indian authors have believed or claimed to believe in "aviation" in ancient India, on the ground of the mention of *vimana* or aerial chariots (which are sometimes flying houses, such as the chariot Pushpaka posssessed by the demon Ravana, *Ramayana,* V, 7 et seq) in the epics. Simple poetical fantasies are given a trifle more solidity by the pseudo-technical description of "flying machines" found in the *Samaranganasutra,* a treatise on architecture attributed to

king Bhoja (11th century). In any case, there is nowhere any clear mention of the use of such machines in war.

THE ORDER OF BATTLE

§71. *The order of battle.* The normal order (*Samavyuha*), according to Kautilya (X, 5), consists in the posting of three units corresponding approximately to the type called *senamukha* (see §67) on each of the five parts of the front, the centre, the two wings, and the two flanks: in all 45 chariots, as many elephants, 225 horses, and 675 infantrymen. This assemblage, 4,050 men altogether, including the guards and auxiliaries which complete it, forms what can be called a legion. The "unequal order," Visamavyutha includes the same elements, but with a different distribution of the chariots and elephants between the wings and the flanks. Each of these two "orders" parmits of ten variations, obtained simply by increasing the basic number of units in each part, from 3 to 5, 7, 9, up to 21.

The distance between the ranks was 5 cubits; that between one soldier and the next, about 10 inches; between one horse and the next about 2 ft. 3 ins.; between chariots or elephants about 4 feet; they were careful to avoid confusion. The elephants were stationed in front of the centre, and the chariots in front of the wings, or vice versa. If there were no elephants or no chariots, the cavalry protected the wings; a small contingent of elephants was kept in reserve. Men provided with armour were placed in the front rank, the others on the wings, the archers in the second rank.

Various formations are described (Kautilya XVI) in which troops were deployed for the attack. The four normal formations were: (a) the "staff", which was an attack in a straight line, and had for its main variants the "eagle", a forward movement of the front with the wings halted; and the "needle point", which consisted in an advance while drawing in the wings and flanks (according to the *Mahabharata* this is the best formation against an enemy who is superior in numbers); (b) the "serpent bend", in which the parts of the force operate one behind the other: this manœuvre includes in particular the "chariot", with double front and the flanks in the "staff" formation, and the "dolphin", with double flanks and the front in the "staff" form; (c) the "circle" arranges the various arms in such a way as to present a compact front everywhere; and finally (d) the "non-closed" formation, in which each element acts on its own. There were, for example, the "thunderbolt", in which the five units formed the

figure of a *vajra*, the "half-moon" and the "crab's horn", in which four and three units, respectively, outlined these shapes.

The pitched battle was not the only form of warfare. There was a "silent combat" (see §55) which used deceit, magic, fire, poison and various types of espionage. Rewards were offered for the head of certain leaders, or for an enemy unit destroyed: 100,000 *pana* to the man who kills the king, 50,000 for the Commander-in-Chief, 5,000 for an elephant or a chariot, 1,000 for a horse, 100 for a subordinate officer, 20 for an infantryman.

On secondary matters, we are often ill informed, as for example, on the treatment of prisoners of war. History mentions collective massacres, but the literature generally bears witness to the prompt liberation of leaders and their eventual exchange, while the rank and file were placed, temporarily or permanently, in the category of *dasa* (see § 90). Kautilya mentions a medical corps, and also serving women who as an extra function exhorted the men to fight (X, 3). Supplies were carried by special troops, or stored at halting places in advance.

FORTS AND CAMPS

§72. *Forts and camps.* Forts (*durga*, "place difficult of access") were of types which varied with the nature of the terrain. Kautilya (II, 3) distinguishes in particular the fort surrounded by water and the mountain fort; the *Silpa* describes no fewer than 19 types. It was typically on a frontier, and was surrounded by a permanent moat, a river or a jungle. The fortifications included three ditches, 14, 12 and 10 *danda* in width (the *danda* was 4 cubits), separated by only one *danda*, their depth being half the width; the sides were walled, and they were easily flooded. Behind the interior ditch was a platform 6 *danda* high, and of twice that width, lined with poisonous thorns, on which was built a rampart 24 cubits high and of half that breadth. At intervals along it were quadrangular towers. Between towers were *pratoli*, two-storeyed structures, with a roof and a balcony capable of sheltering three archers. Along the rampart ran the "road of the gods". Exits were provided for sorties during a siege. The door was a structure of several layers, with a double staircase, two wings, and iron bars to close it.

If Kautilya is to be believed, success in a siege was obtained more often by feint, ruse, or the extensive use of spies, than by the classical methods—close investment accompanied

by the destruction of crops in the neighbourhood, the cutting off of water supplies, repeated assaults, "bombardment" with burning balls (§ 70), etc. The final assault was effected by surprise. There are many references to sapping the enemy's defences, subterranean passages or *surunga* (alternatively *suranga*: it has been supposed a loan-word from Greek syrinx).

The camp (*skandhavara, sivira; kampana,* a late word, borrowed from Greco-Latin?) was itself a fortified place, carefully planned by architects, after consulting the astrologers. It was circular, rectangular or square, according to the terrain or preference, with four gates, six roads inside it, and a network of light fortifications. It was divided into nine sectors, the residence of the king forming the first two, in the middle, with the women's quarters and the guard-house; the audience chamber to the east (for the resort to camp did not interrupt the "civil" activities of the prince); the offices to the south, and the royal stables to the north. The other sectors were situated inside four concentric enclosures, and contained, proceeding from the centre outward, the stores, kitchen, etc.; the chariots, horses, and the troops manning them; the elephants and their troops; and the bulk of the men with the labourers, merchants, and prostitutes. It was a city in miniature. Outside the camp were the hunters, musicians, etc. (Kautilya, X, 1). Magha (*Sisupalavadha,* V), whose poetical frenzy did not prevent him from giving attention to technical details, describes the march of Krishna's army towards Mount Raivataka, where it pitched its camp. More lively, if not more faithful, is the account in Book VII of the *Harshacharita* of the departure of the army: the confusion as they march off by night, orders and curses intermingled, the mob of non-combatants mixed with the columns, from court ladies to valets, merchants, peasants, the obstruction caused by the carts, the oxen, the camels, the horses, the monkeys, the havoc in the countryside, where we hear the cry of the farmers threatened with pillage. On this last point, however, Kautilya says that the farmer must be able to sleep without fear near the army, and the Greeks state admiringly that the work of the fields could go on without harm on the edge of the battle, while an inscription from the South points to a kind of contract between the leaders of rival bands to spare the villages and the country people, residents or nomads.

The Treatises say nothing about naval warfare. The allusions to be found in the epics are not very convincing; thus the mention (*Ramayana,* II, 84, 8) of 500 boats each manned by 100 sailors, or again (*Mahabharata,* I, 149, 5,

Bombay ed.) of a large vessel provided with machinery and all kinds of arms, on which the Pandavas escaped. Megasthenes is alone in testifying to the existence of a war fleet, with a supreme commander and five admiralty officers, though Arrian describes some incidents of naval warfare during Alexander's expedition. Some scenes shown on medallions and on bas-reliefs, and some isolated references in inscriptions, demonstrate, at least for certain regions and at certain periods, the existence of naval forces.

KINDS OF ARMY

§73. Apart from numerical exaggerations, the epics show fairly close agreement with the teaching of the Smriti in regard to the kinds of army, tactical methods, and armaments (see, in particular, *Mahabharata,* V, 152 et seq., XII, 100 et seq). But the fighting described in the epics is a monotonous melee in which "showers of arrows which darken the sky" alternate with the duels of the heroes. The *Yuddhakanda* of the *Ramayana,* several *parvans* of the *Mahabharata,* and in particular the great description of the war of eighteen days, and entire sections of the *Harivamsa,* the Puranas, and the Kavyas, are nothing but sequences of battle scenes. Ruses and deceitful proceedings are accepted, despite the denunciations of certain leaders, discourses on virtue and courage, and precise rules on the chivalrous manner of fighting (*Mahabharata,* XII, 95 et seq): an agreement, which was to be ill respected, was concluded between the Pandavas and the Kauravas before they began fighting. To the real weapons, the effectiveness of which was in any case greatly exaggerated, were added supernatural arms, *divyastra,* the magic of Indrajit, the *pramohana* which put entire units to sleep (*Mahabharata,* VI, 77), and procedures for avoiding the enemy's weapons, and for bringing back a projectile which has been thrown. The most memorable duels, those between Rama and Ravana, and between Bhima and Duryodhana, consist of many episodes which are deliberately worked up to the foreseen conclusion. In the *Sisupalavadha,* which takes up again the epic tradition first used in the incidental episodes of the *Raghuvamsa,* the war between the armies of Sisupala and Krishna is settled by a single combat in which bows and arrows are supplemented by the *divyastra ;* in the *Kiratarjuniya,* similarly, a boxing contest and then a fight body to body, follow the combat with arrows.

We learn from Pliny that the army of the Prasii or Palibothri included 8,000 elephants, 30,000 horses and 600,000

men (60,000 Solin); Plutarch also gives the figure 600,000 for the entire army of Chandragupta. But does this mean that so many effective soldiers were really engaged in battle ? For the battle which Poros fought against Alexander, Arrian gives 30,000 men, 4,000 cavalry, 420 chariots, and 235 elephants, which agree approximately with the data, or at least the proportions, given in the Smriti. According to Huian-tsang, Harsha at first had an army of 5,000 elephants, 20,000 horses and 50,000 foot, and disposed at the height of his power of 60,000 elephants and 100,000 horsemen. It is interesting that mention of chariots in the inscriptions ceases from the time of the Guptas.

The Greeks described the arms in a summary way: they hesitated to speak of the elephant and seemed to ignore its use as a "corps" of the army. On the other hand Strabo and Arrian describe the fortified town of Pali(m) bothra (Pataliputra), situated at a confluence of the Ganges, and in form a parallelogram; it included a moat and a wooden fence containing loopholes (Strabo), or a rampart with 570 towers and 64 gates (Arrian). The *stupa* at Sanchi gives an idea of an Indian fortification, and a relief on the southern gate shows the siege of a fort, with *indrakosa* or shooting posts for bow and arrows built into the wall, as described by Kautilya.

DIVISIONS OF THE ARMY

§74. The Vedic texts should be more instructive on account of their very antiquity. It seems that the primary social groups, of the family and the tribe, provided the original framework of the divisions of the army. The essential element was the chariot, the effectiveness of which depended on speed and the trustworthiness of the horses. It carried two men, the charioteer and the fighting man, the latter referred to as "he who stands on the left". There is as yet no cavalry (in spite of inferences drawn from the ride of the Maruts through the air), nor elephant corps. There are references to defensive arms, helmets doubtless made of metal, consisting of several pieces fitted together, and perhaps leg armour. Arrows tipped with iron or horn were carried in a quiver on the shoulder ; they were provided with feathers, and the archer carried a guard on his left arm. Other arms are known, the nature of which has sometimes been transformed by mythical elaboration, like the *vajra* (see §70), the weapon specially associated with Indra, the prototype of the weapons of the Gods, with which the dragon was slain, and the rocks shattered. A hymn of the *Rigveda* (VI, 75) praises the instru-

ments of war, the breastplate, the bow, the war chariot, and the supply wagon, while the *Atharvaveda* contains a series of battle charms in which there are already to be found the "magical" weapons of the epics, the arms which paralyse, the "rotten cord", the drum whose noise spreads terror among the enemy, not to speak of curses, appeals to Indra or Brihaspati to help the victory or the slaughter, and to Sickness that she will "burn with her flames the heart of the enemy", and finally prayers for the king as he girds on his armour or mounts the chariot. From one end of the literature to the other, the accounts of war pour forth a flood of images, the horror of which is mitigated only by their superfluity..

CHAPTER VII

ECONOMICS

§75. *Occupations.* Names of occupations occur with relative frequency from the time of the Vedic hymns, notably in the list of "victims" of the human sacrifice (*Vajasaneyi Samhita,* XXX), but these lists, in which some artisans and cultivators or stock-breeders occur side by side, teach us little. The classes most prominent in the early period are those of the carpenter, the smith, the potter, the goldsmith, and the distiller; there were also several kinds of musicians and actors, but important groups may be missing, while minor details may be emphasised from religious motives.

Woodwork is prominent; the wheelwright or *rathakara* made the cart (*anas*) and the war-chariot (*ratha*); the wheels had an iron rim. Details are fairly fully recorded, especially for the war-chariot, which had four wheels and was drawn by two horses, and later had a third in front (for further facts, see § 68). The cart was drawn by oxen; several types of vehicles were used in the rituals. The wheelwright's status in society was fairly high, but he lost it at an early period, and the classical theory placed him among the "mixed" castes (see §8), and this is confirmed indirectly by the Buddhist sources. Other lines of work using wood, and several in metal, are described in some detail, as also basket-making and other minor occupations left by preference to women. Weaving is well known, because its operations provided metaphorical expressions for the sacrificial operations; it was probably confined to women.

The classical literature gives many names of occupations. Under Brahmanism, the greater number were soon transformed into castes, while Buddhism (there are long enumerations in the literature, as in the *Milindapanha,* p. 331, *Apadana* II, p. 357) left them free. From the epic age to the *Kathasaritsagara* we find here and there mention of craftsmen, (*kulika*), living in the town or the country, often attached to some magnate. The extreme division of labour is remarkable, if we may place any confidence in the many names applying to the same occupation: thus a distinction is made between fishermen using baskets and those using nets, and those using bait, etc.; among hunters, game-hunters, bird-catchers, and even quail-catchers are distinguished (Jataka). The court artisans are most often mentioned, at least in the Buddhist and Jain texts. In the *Kusa Jataka* appear royal potters, basketmakers, gardeners, as well as the barber, the cook, and a long list of "artists", beginning with the elephant trainer, the archer, and the maker of magic spells. The greater part of these names imply no social disrepute, and where that is not so, disfavour applies to the caste rather than the occupation, since the two are not identical. However, all traditions, bound by religious prohibitions, give certain occupations a very low status.

CHANGE OF OCCUPATION

§76. Nevertheless, change of occupation was not unknown; as among the nomads described in the *Tittira Jataka,* who had to look for a living in a variety of ways. The *Mrichchhakatika* (X, 54-55) has a "master of a household" who becomes a masseur, a gambler, and then a Buddhist monk, and finally rises to the position of "head of all the monasteries of the country". But in general the occupation was fixed, and there is often mention of families of artisans. The Jatakas speak of generations of dancers, drummers and conch-players; the son of an elephant tamer exercises the art of his father, and the acrobat teaches his son the "jumping art". It is only by chance that a similar continuity is not proved for some other occupations: the freakish passage in the *Rigveda* (IX, 112), "I am a poet, my father is a physician, and my mother grinds grain (of soma?)" does not reflect the normal state of things in ancient India.

We are very fully informed on religious activities and all their ramifications, but other occupations remain in obscurity or can be studied only from the special treatises which claim to deal with them. This is the case with the architects.

and generally for all the artisans who draw upon the *Silpasastra*: beyond qualifications of a general or moral type we know scarcely anything about the exercise of these professions. On medicine, the Ayurvedic treatises are fairly explicit. A long apprenticeship was assumed, and practice was subject to formal authorisation by the king. The profession had to defend itself against the competition of charlatants, who seem to have been one of the plagues of the country, and were no doubt partly responsible for the bad reputation of the physicians themselves; also it is true that their constant contact with people of all types was apt to make them impure, and Manu (III, 152) says that they must be excluded from the ceremonies. Another passage in Manu (IX, 284) would imply that physicians were liable to pay if their treatment failed. Under Asoka, in the Puranas, and in many early inscriptions we find mention of hospitals provided for by pious foundations; there were such even for animals. There were bodies of veterinary doctors for the chief animal species, and men who treated trees and plants.

THE COURTESANS

§77. *The courtesans.* Throughout the literature back to the *Rigveda* we meet more or less clear references to prostitution; the words for courtesan were numerous, but the commonest were *ganika*, "woman of the group", and *vesya,* which must originally have meant "domestic". It may be that the import of the evidence in the Veda has been exaggerated, though a number of the ritual customs seem to require explanation in terms of a social function of this kind. It is perhaps incorrect to speak without qualification of free prostitution in ancient India. The tradition of the *Kamasastra,* which shows the hetæra as an essential part of social life, need not be taken quite literally; and there is an element of literary convention about the figure of the "go-between" (*kuttani*), who transmitted her messages so seriously.

Kautilya describes a kind of public organisation for the supply of women for the royal harem. They were bought for 1,000 *pana*; if one fled, her family was obliged to replace her; the ransom was 24,000 *pana*; when no longer needed they were married. Kautilya (II, 27) distinguishes from these the "free" prostitutes, who could be approached by anybody, subject to caste; they were paid by their clients. Others were dependent on a master, to whom they gave account of their takings. They were subject to special laws: their sons (who in theory became actors at court) did not inherit, but they

themselves had a right to inherit part of the property of their master.

The Buddhist sources embellish the custom (for example in the poetical story of Ambapali, who plays in relation to the Buddha the part of the Magdalene) with a hundred picturesque additions. But it is Brahmanism which has provided the most finished picture of the pure-hearted courtesan, in Vasantasena, the heroine of the *Mrichchhakatika*. From this instance and others it appears that these women could obtain and benefit from a refined education, which marked them out from the majority and justified in part the consideration with which they seem to have been surrounded.

As to the *devadasis* or dedicated coutesans, attached as dancers to a sacred place, the ancient literature scarcely mentions them; we notice passing allusions in the *Meghaduta* (35), and in Kautilya (II, 23), but the inscriptions at Tanjore give a somewhat fuller account of the institution, which seems to have grown up together with the building of the great temples of the South.

THE CORPORATIONS

§78. *The corporations.* A considerable proportion of the occupations of the town, and later of the village, including commercial pursuits, were organised in the corporate groupings called *sreni* ("ranked"), or less commonly *nigama.* These groups had their own laws, (see Manu, VIII, 41), which they acquired, apparently, towards the end of the Vedic era. The Jatakas mention eighteen groups; in fact we can trace references to about thirty, several of which were factors of some consequence in social life. They had a leader, called in general *setthi* or *sresthin* ("the best"), a term which applied especially to bankers and merchants; they were also called *sarthavaha,* of which the original meaning is "chief of a caravan", (*prathama*) *kulika,* "chief of artisans", or simply *jyesthaka,* "the aged", *mukhya,* or *mahattama,* "the most important". He was elected (at least the position was not hereditary), he had from two to five executive agents, and his secretary was "the first of the *kayastha*" (see §8). The *sreni* could act as judge of appeal in law suits or arbitration proceedings in which he was not directly concerned, and among the merchants the treasurer or *bhandagarika* was at the same time a magistrate. Kautilya alludes to certain privileges which they enjoyed, notably in regard to punishments. The existence of troops called "of the *sreni*" (see § 67) suggests a military prerogative. The king did not intervene in their affairs except when public order

was involved. On the other hand the *sreni* was collectively responsible (Kautilya, IV, 1), and prevarication by the leader could involve confiscation of property. There were formalities for the admission of a new member (*Brihaspati Smriti*), but legal provisions had in view, in general, not only the corporations properly so called, but all associations, even of a temporary character (*Narada Smriti*, III, 1; *Brihaspati Smriti*, XIV).

There is no doubt that these organisations formed a counterpoise to the arbitrary power of the aristocracy and the Brahmans, and that under the regimes of the *gana* (see §49) they could play a part in political affairs. The *Bhikkhuni-patimokkha* mentions a number of *sreni* which enjoyed a certain autonomy.

The inscriptions mention corporations of weavers (Nasik, 120 A.D.), of potters, and of makers of "water machines" (ibid, 3rd century), and of oil-pressers (Indore). The earliest allusion is that at Sanchi, to the *sreni* of ivory carvers; later, at Junnar, to the seedsmen; at Gwalior to the oil-pressers and gardeners attached to a temple; later still, under the Sinda of Yelburga, to the betel-sellers. An inscription at Mandasor (5th century) relates how the silk weavers came from the country of Lata to Dasapura, how the move led to some changes of occupation (some became archers, some astrologers, some even ascetics), but all remained members of a flourishing corporate group, which was able to build a temple to the Sun and to have it repaired from its own resources thirty five years later.

These "corporations" are undoubtedly responsible for the villages or quarters in a town occupied solely by those following a certain occupation, the streets of dyers or weavers of which the stories tell. The *Alinachitta Jataka* describes a village of 500 carpenters who come there to prepare wood for building, and go down the Ganges again to build on its banks the houses for which they have collected the material.

Sreni were formed naturally for the most part of Vaisyas, though also of Sudras, but we hear of *sreni* of Kshatriyas, living by trade and war, and even *sreni* of Brahmans are acknowledged to exist. It should be remembered that these bodies could accept deposits of money, and in fact acted as local banks; there was corporate property, which carried in particular the power to enter into collective contracts.

THE WORKERS

§79. *The workers.* Our knowledge does not permit us to state the position of the worker exactly. The term *karmakara*

is not precise; *bhritaka* (*bhataka*) equally means one who serves for wages, and the term *vetana* envisages methods of payment which are not necessarily wage payment. As for *silpin*, "art worker", and *karu*, "one who does heavy work", these terms also refer to independent artisans who may or may not work for hire.

The little we know comes mostly from Buddhist sources, where we hear of workers (other than servants properly so called) who are paid by rich "masters of the household", merchants or landed proprietors; we learn that they were fed and lodged (sometimes outside the house), and in some cases attached to the same patron from one generation to the next. These were no doubt Sudras or people of various "mixed" castes, or those who had fallen out of caste, and their position must often have been precarious. Manu (X, 124) says that they should be treated decently, in accordance with their capacity, their zeal, and the number of their dependents. From another passage (Manu, VIII, 230) we see that the herdsman was responsible for damage done (except at night) to the herd or to neighbouring land, unless it was due to circumstances beyond one's control; that he was paid in kind (for example, he would receive the milk of one cow in ten) if other payment had not been agreed upon. The agricultural labourer (see *Brishaspati Smriti*, XVI, 13) had a right to a part of the produce, which was one fifth if he was fed and clothed, one third otherwise; but the figures are not always given in the same way, and it is possible that these provisions applied only to farmers or share-croppers on royal estates. (For rates of wages, see §89.)

At no period do we hear of social movements, and despite some search no allusion to a "strike" is forthcoming: the "hunger-strikes", individual or social, of which the *Rajatarangini* speaks, were of a special type, and it was a spontaneous manifestation whereby the inhabitants of Ayodhya stopped work when Rama was banished (*Ramayana*, II, 48).

Was there a form, even an elementary form, of capitalism? We hear mention of great fortunes, as possessed by certain Kshatriyas who wished to imitate the royal magnificence, and even more often by the *mahasala* Brahmans of the Jatakas, whose possessions amounted to 80 *koti* or "crores" (ten millions of a somewhat ill-defined monetary unit): a conventional expression, which we also find applied to the powerful heads of banking and commercial guilds. Later, Hiuan-tsang states definitely that at Valabhi there were some hundreds of families possessing a hundred lakhs (Sanskrit *laksha*, which at least

since Yajnavalkya has meant 100,000). But there is no evidence of the investment of private capital (or indeed of state capital) in industrial concerns, and except for the royal estates and religious foundations, wealth does not seem to have been highly concentrated.

INDUSTRY

§80. *Industry*. On the working of certain enterprises we are informed by the chapters in which Kautilya describes the control exercised over them. Those which approach most nearly to our idea of an "industry" were, if we are to believe Kautilya, spinning and weaving, which involved specialised factories, working in association with a domestic industry paid at piece rates. The workers were mainly women, but there were also male learners. Fabrics were of the most varied types, as is shown by many references scattered through the literature, as for example in descriptions of celebrations, and of presents offered (*Harshacharita*, tr. p. 214 ; the epics, passim ; *Dighanikaya*, I, 1,15 ; etc.). Kautilya, who is far from covering the whole subject, mentions as fibres suitable for spinning, wool, cotton, bark, the thread of the silk-cotton tree, hemp, and flax ; and for weaving, various kinds of flax, silk, cotton, and antelope's hair. Silk, mentioned together with wool and cotton in the epics and in the earliest Buddhist documents (*kauseya, koseyya*), must have been imported (from China) several centuries before the Christian era ; the materials from Banaras (*kasika*) are of high repute in the Jatakas, and are described as "worth ten thousand pieces." We also hear praise of *dukula*, a kind of very fine hemp, white in Bengal, dark in the land of the Pundra, golden in Assam. The workshops mentioned by Kautilya produced, in addition to cloth, ropes, string, coats of mail, bowstrings, straps ; while the list of furs in use attains considerable length ; the *Harshacharita* praises the kinds of leather called *kardaranga* and *samuruka*.

Living in the centre of the commercial quarter, the goldsmith was an important artisan, who worked for the state, or, under control, for private clients. The texts mention several kinds of gold (the *Rajanighantu* gives a list of 42 names!), of which one at least, "(gold) drawn from the Jambu river", must refer to gold-bearing sands, like those mentioned by Megasthenes ; as for the gold-seeking ants described by the Greco-Latin authors, the idea derives ultimately from a passage, perhaps wrongly interpreted, in the *Mahabharata* (II, 48, 4 crit. ed.). Since Vedic times, while silver is rarely mentioned

(it is, no doubt, the "white gold" of the *Taittiriya Samhita*), gold figures very frequently, and seems to have been the material of the greater part of the ornaments, of jewels, and later of money. It was obtained from the Jambu, the Satakumbha, the country called Hataka, the Venu (?), the Sringisukti (?), but Kautilya also speaks, from another point of view, of "pure" or "native" (*jatarupa*) gold, of nuggets or veins. He seems to know the process of alloying, and he describes gilding (and silvering), as well as setting stones in gold; the test with the touchstone, of which he gives some details, provides literature with one of its favourite images.

The base metals were iron, copper, lead, tin, and *vaikrinta* (*ka*)(?); since the Veda, in addition to bronze, referred to by the generic term *ayas*, there have certainly been iron, or "black *ayas*", and copper, or "red *ayas*" (*Atharvaveda*). The iron pillar of Chandragupta at Delhi (5th century) proves a knowledge of the casting of considerable masses of metal, and if many of the common utensils, secular and religious, were made of wood (the nature of the wood was the subject of detailed instructions, in which religious ideas—the hierarchy of essences in the "castes"—were combined with practical considerations), others were made of bronze or copper as early as the Vedic ritual texts. Fragments of steel have been found at the pillar of Heliodorus (140 B.C.), and Quintus Curtius relates that the chiefs of the Panjab offered Alexander a hundred talents of steel.

§81. The working of mines (which included, at least from the fiscal and administrative point of view, a number of similar activities, see §61), was well developed in the state described by Kautilya; he distinguishes difficult workings (owing to the difficulties of terrain) from easy working, only the latter being administered by the state. It is surprising that Strabo can tell us that the Indians, although having good mines, were so inexperienced in the arts of extracting and casting that they neglected their resources. Mercury, hardly mentioned in the earliest medical sources, and apparently unknown to Kautilya, was first used for medical and technical purposes, before being applied to pseudo-scientific ends of transmutation. It was early discovered how to "kill" (oxidise) it, and to sublime it. Some processes belonging to alchemy are described by Kautilya (II, 13). It was known (to Susruta, in particular) how to prepare alkalis and "caustics" with alkali bases from mineral salts. Bitumen was believed to be the product of four (or six) metals which, heated by the sun on the mountains, gave out an "oily impurity".

Salt is mentioned by Strabo (who speaks of a "mountain of salt" in the region of Sopeithes) and by Pliny (who refers to the mountain Or (o) menus between the Indus and the Hydaspes), and was said to be derived from six sources: Sindh (deposits in the desert?), the sea, natron, alkali, *sauvarchala* (saltpetre?, potash?) and salt water springs; other texts refer to other sources.

The texts on jewels give many details about precious stones, pearls, and coral, which India has provided in abundance from times immemorial. The ability to judge precious stones was highly esteemed; even kings prided themselves on it, and the expert was much sought after (see, e.g., the picturesque scene in the *Brihat-kathaslokasamgraha*, XVIII, 368). The stone most highly valued was the diamond; six or eight mines were known from which diamonds were obtained, and they were cut and polished. Pearls are mentioned in the Vedic hymns, and the *Atharvaveda* gives formulæ for exorcism in which they are used. A number of traditions grew up in regard to the origin of pearls, in which the fantastic and the realistic are mingled. The fisheries of Ceylon and the South are of the one type, while the "pearls of the Himalaya" belong to the invisible, miraculous species, like those "born of the cloud" or drawn from the bodies of various animals. They were set in rings and mounted in ornaments. The art of making imitation stones was known, and of making artificial pearls, with an amalgam of mercury.

AGRICULTURE

§82. *Agriculture.* The corner-stone of the economy was agriculture. The numerical preponderance of the cultivators can be inferred from facts given in the Jaina sutras, from Megasthenes (who states that Indians avoid towns), from the general impression created by the Jatakas or Hala, and even from a sophisticated work like the *Harshacharita*. There are many passages which exalt village life and the virtues of work on the land, but the distinction of classes must always be borne in mind, and Manu, who calls agriculture *pramrita* (that is, according to the traditional explanation, a "foremost means of (causing) the death (of small animals living in the soil)" forbids it to Brahmans and Kshatriyas.

The Jatakas mention great estates (a thousand *karisa*): no doubt cultivation on this scale applied particularly to state farms, of which we seem to find indications in the texts which set forth the conditions of the agricultural labourers (see §61).

Kautilya speaks of three sowing seasons, the first especially

for rice, the second for beans and other legumes, the third for barley and wheat (which were not highly thought of), and for flax and hemp. He sets forth the differences of the various regions, and recalls the obvious fact that the seasons determine the distribution of labour. The cycle of the seasons, which became a favourite theme of lyrical poetry (see §93), was given importance originally for utilitarian reasons, agricultural and medical. The practice of taking two crops in the year is testified to by Kautilya and Megasthenes, who attributes it to the seasonal character of the rains.

Ploughing was done with ploughs drawn by oxen (and horses, and sheep?); the Vedic texts speak of heavy harness, and detail the form of the yoke, and it has been conjectured that they used a kind of plough for sowing. The *Manasara* (V) and Parasara describe different types of plough.

There is evidence of a large number of cereals since Vedic times, when the species in use was *yava,* a word which later meant barley. Rice was known as early as the *Atharvaveda,* and becomes visibly more important in the measure that the Aryan tribes advance towards the east and the south, where rice cultivation seems to have been indigenous. It ripened in the autumn, according to the *Taittiriya Samhita,* which distinguishes white and black rice, as well as a quick ripening species, which was therefore called that "of sixty days". The names *vrihi* and *sali* denoted the two principal kinds, each being divided into a number of varieties.

The importance of manure was understood at an early period (manure in the proper sense, consisting of animal and vegetable refuse) and we know that the practice was to leave animal manure to dry for ten months (the *Atharvaveda* seems to be aware of its use as a fuel, also). It has been shown that rotation of crops was practised, as well as leaving land fallow. Kautilya notes the precautions to be observed during sowing. Threshing and winnowing were practised from Rigvedic times, and the Buddhist and Jain sources, partly corroborated by the Greeks, supply evidence of other operations. The *Chullavagga* (VII, 1, 2) enumerates thirteen operations, from sowing to gathering in, and the *Mahavagga* (VIII, 12) speaks of rice-fields which were fenced and divided into "furrows".

SUGARCANE

§83. Another important branch of cultivation was that of sugarcane. Kautilya distinguishes six kinds of sugar, apparently according to the mode of refining. Among the spices (the importance of which is emphasised by foreign witnesses)

Kautilya enumerates what he calls "strong substances", including long pepper, black pepper, ginger, carraway, gentian, mustard, coriander, artemisia, marjoram, and radish. There were many plants used in the preparation of liquors and wines. The vine yielded fruit which was highly esteemed, but wine from grapes, or *madhu* (a word of variable meaning) was generally believed to come from the Yavana (people of the West, not necessarily Greeks). There are also traces of an indigenous culture of the vine: one of the two kinds mentioned by Kautilya is the Kapisayana or wine of Kapisi (Begram), and the other, the Harahuraka, which may be the name of a district of the Panjab. We cannot go here into the vast variety of cultivated plants, used for food, medicine (in part the same), and for ornament. The number of flowers and fruits impressed Diodorus, and the Sanskrit lyric provides inexhaustible evidence of it. Flowers have religious connotations, beginning in the ancient domestic ritual and constantly expanding, and the lotus, around which an immense symbolism crystalised, was known by several different names as early as the Vedic Samhitas.

Detailed instructions are given on the planting and cultivation of trees: a mixture of theoretical, æsthetic, empirical and magical practices. The choice of species was subject to all kinds of instructions, founded on the hierarchy of essences deriving ultimately from the Vedic ritual (see § 80). [For some examples, see *Agni Purana*, CCLXXXII; *Brihatsamhita*, LV; *Matsya Purana*, LIX]. Trees and plants played a considerable part in cosmographic, cosmogonic and liturgical speculations, and the planting of trees and the laying out of parks were the occasion of ceremonies comparable to those which accompanied the building of a sanctuary.

The products of the forests and the plains, comprehended under the generic term *kupya*, included, in addition to timber and resin, wild fruits, edible and poisonous plants, and animals; they formed altogether an important economic asset.

Particular care was devoted to irrigation, "the source of crops", as Kautilya says (VII, 14); as early as the *Rigveda* we hear of "waters produced by digging". Kautilya (II, 24) speaks of waters controlled by dams, and brought to the place of cultivation "by hand", or on the backs of animals, or by means of the Persian wheel, and the *Chullavagga* (V, 16, 2) makes allusion to a kind of lever mechanism. There were reservoirs of all sizes (e.g., the vast Sudarsana described in the inscription of Rudradaman, §50), and probably aqueducts. Megasthenes speaks of "closable canals" ("provided with

locks'' would perhaps be to force the sense) which permitted regulation of the flow. As far back as Vedic times we have spells intended to prevent the return to its old bed of a body of water which had been forced into a new direction. The Kharavela inscription speaks of a canal opened by Nanda and prolonged into the interior of the city of Kalinga. The search, part scientific, part magical, for water, was the subject of special teaching (*Brihatsamhita,* LIV).

We have a number of references, generally rather vague, to famines (in the Buddhist texts, especially the *Vinaya*). There was a famine lasting twelve years at the end of the reign of Chandragupta Maurya, on the evidence of the Jains. That there were difficulties in the way of establishing a stable system of food production and distribution may be guessed even from the polity set forth in Kautilya's book.

CATTLE-RAISING

§84. *Cattle-raising.* The treatises discuss the measures to be taken to ensure the maintenance of cattle in the best condition, and to bring about their increase. Kautilya lays down the nature and quantity of food: for draught oxen, for example, he recommends, in duly stated proportions, grass, hay, oil-cake, bran, meat (!), sour milk, barley or beans, liquor, fat, sugar, and ginger.

Despite its unrivalled religious prestige, the cow could be put to work, and even ill-treated if it did not give milk (*Mahabharata,* V, 34, 35 ; XII, 67, 9). Milking took place twice a day during the rains and in the autumn and winter. Milk output was very poor, if it is true that the *Mahabharata* (XII, 29, 140) gives as a model yield a *drona* (3-1/3 lbs.) per day in the ideal kingdom of Prithu. A *prastha* (1/16 of a drona) of butter was obtained from a drona of milk (Kautilya, II, 29).

The standard proportion was five breeders per hundred horses (or donkeys), ten per hundred goats and sheep, four per hundred cows, buffalos and camels ; the model herd was one of a hundred animals, containing equal numbers of old cows, milch cows, cows with young, and calves. Branding of animals took place one or two months after birth, and it has been supposed that there is an allusion to this in the *astakarni* of the *Rigveda.* Lambs were sheared every six months.

Megasthenes speaks of cowherds and herdsmen in general, who lived in tents, hunting birds and harmful animals. No doubt the semi-nomadic life which is assumed to have prevailed in the Vedic age (when the *ghosa* must have performed the function of farms) persisted in some places for long afterwards.

Kautilya speaks of superintendents of pastures, who were entrusted with the control of game, and later with watching for the approach of enemies. We find in *Mahabharata* (III. 240—229, the *ghosayatra*) colourful accounts of the counting and branding of herds.

As regards elephants, which played so important a part in war (see §68), we are given copious details on the different kinds, reckoned according to place of origin, age, behaviour, and even odour or "caste". In addition to the elephant fit for war or harness, there were the type suitable for ceremonial occasions, the easily tamed, and the vicious, with which success could be obtained only by force. According to place of origin, eight varieties were distinguished, the best being those from Kalinga and Bengal, and those from the west being inferior. The price of an elephant might be as high as a thousand *niska* (a gold coin). For catching them, the best season was the summer, and the best age twenty years. The Greeks, who have much to say on this subject, were familiar with the use of female elephants as bait, so to speak, for the males, and with the use of music in taming them. The special treatises are full of instructions on the care necessary in dealing with elephants (Strabo confirms the existence of a doctrine of medicine for elephants), on their habits, and on certain partially imaginary characteristics, such as the oozing of *mada* from the temples of the elephant in rut, a theme which lyric poetry has made almost too much its own. Ivory was highly regarded; the first mention we have of a work in ivory is in an inscription at Sanchi of the 2nd century B.C.

HORSES

§85. On horses the literature is hardly less copious, if on the other hand the Greeks make no contribution to it. Kautilya mentions sixteen types of movement of the horse, and distinguishes the animals according to place of origin (the best being those from the north-west: the *Harshacharita* also prefers those from Vanayu, Kamboja, Kashmir and Sindh), and according to "caste", to age, to the coat, and to certain external signs. There were names for fourteen types of reins, and six types of spurs.

The camel (the use of which in war is attested only at a late date, in Rajputana) is mentioned here and there. Its usual name, *ustra,* occurs already in the Veda, where rightly or wrongly it is always rendered "buflalo". The ass, (*khara*) is mentioned in one of the Aranyakas.

In spite of the theoretical ban on meat eating (see §109), there was a regular system of public slaughter-houses (see §51),

which also served as markets for the sale of fresh and dried meat. Kautilya gives a list of animals which should not be killed, among which are wild animals (except the harmful species), domestic animals which yield milk, and males which are young or kept for breeding.

COMMERCE

§ 86. *Commerce.* Both the literary descriptions and the regulations of the normative texts seem to point to the existence of a well developed commerce. We find traces of it as early as the Veda, even though we no longer attach much importance to the mention of the Pani, those demon-enemies who were formerly believed to reflect a class of rich and avaricious merchants.

The literary sources speak of commercial streets and quarters, of markets, stalls and hawkers; it is perhaps only by chance that the most ancient sources do not preserve a memory of those fairs which play so important a part in mediæval and modern India. Among the corporative bodies (see § 78) that of the merchants is the most often mentioned, especially in the inscriptions of the South, and the *sarthavaha* who headed such bodies was originally the leader of a caravan. There are in fact many allusions to these caravans which, guided by a "land pilot" accustomed to following the stars, crossed plains and forests, often for great distances, carrying goods of greater or less value. The Jatakas are full of these stories (see the *Vannupatha,* and the *Apannaka*); a well-known episode in the story of Nala and Damayanti shows the danger of these expeditions, which were waylaid by brigands, and had to be protected by armed men and covered by heavy insurance. Caravans contained as many as five hundred vehicles (a conventional figure, it is true). We could draw a caravan map of India, in which the chief routes would be that from Kashmir or Gandhara to Videha (Mithila), and that from Banaras to Ujjayini (*Guttila Jataka, Kutavanija Jataka,* etc.); several crossed the *marukantara,* the desert of "sixty *yojanas,*" which is no doubt what we now call Rajputana. In Kautilya's view the route to the Himalayas was less important commercially than that to the Deccan, since the former provided only woollens, furs and horses, while the latter brought an abundance of diamonds and other stones, pearls, articles of gold, etc.

Among the conventional figures of Indian literature are the *Kirata,* who were northern mountaineers and travelling merchants, of greater or less honesty, who lived by barter,

"offering goat-skins, dressed in tiger-skins, and taking in exchange materials dyed in saffron, in indigo and in sakala, and even sugar, rice, vermilion, salt, and fats." (*Brihatkathaslokasamgraha*, XVIII, 453).

In addition to the *vanij*, or independent, licensed merchants, there were the *vaideha* (*ka*), shopkeepers or commercial agents, some of them holders of concessions, often men of lower castes. A curious fact is that sale could take place, according to Kautilya, at the toll-gate. As soon as merchandise arrived in the city, the importer declared its nature and value, and asked for offers. After three proclamations, the goods were sold to the highest bidder, but the difference between the declared and accepted prices, if any, was taken by the state.

There were associations of traders, who agreed to raise or lower prices according to circumstances (Kautilya, VIII, 4). Some authors speak of exorbitant profits; a late inscription from the South (Rajendra Chola I) describes exactions by bands of merchants made by force of arms.

It does not lie within the plan of this work to deal with the important subject of the commercial relations (nor of the intellectual relations) between India and the neighbouring countries. The Indian sources (the *Mahaniddesa* and the *Apadana*) are far less useful for this purpose than the Greek evidence, and later the Chinese and Arabian. It need only be noticed that the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* (middle of the 1st century, A.D.) gives, for each Indian port of some importance, a list of the products which it exported and imported.

NAVIGATION

§ 87. *Navigation.* Navigation is first and foremost a part of commerce, and the facts concerning it will be given as relating to commerce. If the Veda yields no certain information on this point, the later texts mention more and more frequently a navigation which is sometimes coastwise and sometimes across the high seas. Here again the Buddhist sources, despite all reservations, are valuable, when they give particulars, for example, of the voyages to Ceylon (*Valahassa Jataka*), or mention (as does the *Dighanikaya*, XI, 85) those "direction-indicating crows" which informed the pilots in which direction lay the coast. The first laymen converted to Buddhism were two merchants engaged in maritime trade; another, Purna, son of a great merchant of Suparaka (Sopara), crossed the "big ocean" (*Supparaka Jataka*) six times from the port of Bharukachchha (Broach).

It is true that for continental India at least the prejudice

against the sea persisted a long time. "Few return from it," said Purna himself; a sea-voyage caused loss of caste (*Baudhayana Dharmasutra,* II, 2, 2, which nevertheless admits its legitimacy for the North, I, 2, 4); sea-voyagers were among those who could not be invited to funeral ceremonies (Manu, III, 158). In fact many texts omit all reference to matters concerning the sea, and Kautilya (VII, 12) limits himself to saying that commerce by land is more certain and more regular.

The superintendent of ships of Kautilya (see § 51) controls inland as well as maritime navigation. After the Sanchi period iconography becomes progressively more preoccupied with sea scenes, and ships of various types, up to Ajanta, which marks the culminating point of this theme. The Andhra coins bear a ship as their sign. The Pali texts speak of ships (with three masts?) for 700 passengers (thus the *Mahavamsa,* VI, 43, when describing the departure of King Vijaya for Ceylon). In the Brahmanical literature, allusions to maritime affairs in the epics are still scanty: we have to go to the *Kathasaritsagara* for a little more detail. It is possible, however, that the *Vasistha Dharmasutra,* a very early code, refers to sea vessels "which carry ten cart-loads," or twice as much as a river boat, and according to Pliny Indian cargoes measured 3,000 amphoras (75 tons). The more recent technical treatises, the *Silpasastra* and the *Yuktikalpataru,* describe various types of ships, and the decorations on the bow and the stearn (wreaths of pearls and gold); but to what era do these descriptions apply?

THE COINAGE

§ 88. *Money.* The coinage was usually in silver, alloyed with one fourth of copper and one sixteenth of a base metal to give strength (Kautilya, II, 12). The unit was the *pana;* as small change ("life of a quarter," *padajiva*), there was a copper coin called *masa,* 1/16 of a pana, and another called *kakini,* 1/4 of the *masa.* In the Smriti also the *pana,* known by its full name, *karsapana,* is the unit, but this is a copper coin. The account of the coins differs from one text to another, and the monetary unit is often hard to distinguish from the unit of weight. The *pana* of copper was equivalent to 80 *raktika* (*ratti*). The *raktika,* the grain of the Abrus precatorius, was equal to the *krishnala* of Manu, i.e. to 0.13 gm. The *purana* or *dharana* of silver weighed 32 raktika. The *suvarna,* usually a piece of gold, weighed 80 raktika. Specimens in copper and silver have been discovered dating back to the 4th century B.C. There were also very small

tokens in the form of shells, the *kaparda* (*kauri*, anglicised to cowry), Cyproea moneta, in value 1/80 of the copper *pana* or 1/5120 of the rupee. The name of this last coin is foreshadowed in the designation *rupya* (*ka*), *rupiya*, which applied to all stamped coins. Last comes the *dinara*, a gold coin of which the name was borrowed from the Greco-Roman world, and of variable value, given as equal to 48 *pana* by Brihaspati, and as 16 rupaka (another silver coin) under the Guptas (equal to 24 rupees of to-day?). The ratio between gold and silver was 1/12 or 1/16.

There is mention in the Veda of medals of gold, called *niska*, and perhaps also *mana*, which were used as ritual gifts: it is not known whether they were strictly coins. Sale was conducted by means of barter, which must have persisted for a long time, at least as regards certain commodities. Gautama gives a list of articles which could be obtained only by way of exchange. At a much later epoch, the Chinese pilgrims still notice this practice. Payment in kind remained the rule as regards ritual fees, marriage and teaching fees, fines, and legal penalties. The ancient unit of value was the cow, the name of which at the same time designated religious gifts. The stories of the purchase of *soma*, and of the ransom of Sunahsepa (see § 24) show the "cow" in use as money. Many of the figures in the Veda are given in such a way that one cannot tell whether a moneary unit, a token, has replaced a natural unit. Even in Kautilya, where figures are used very freely, there is nothing to prevent us assuming the prevalence of barter, which would have had the advantage of rendering easy the state control of the economy, and checking deception. The persistence of barter is borne out also by the predominance of rural production in the economy, and perhaps by the rarity of money tokens. The situation was different, perhaps, in certain periods, such as the 1st century of our era, when there was a great drain of Roman gold (which Pliny, who lamented it, estimated at 20 million gold francs) to pay for imports from India, and the Indians were not inclined to take wine, oil, leather or other commodities from Europe.

Letters of credit were known under the Guptas, but there is no mention of banks, though rich individuals and corporations performed their function at certain times.

THE COST OF LIVING

§ 89. It would be interesting to determine the cost of living. It appears not to have varied much in the period we are considering. Under the Guptas, as under the Mauryas, the

kakini represented the daily expense of a worker. We can form an idea of some prices from the inscriptions, and from the tables of fines. An ox cost 12 *pana,* a horse 24, a female "slave" 50, an elephant 500; a bundle of hay cost 1 masa, grain cost 1 *pana* for 123 *prastha,* oil 1 *pana* for 300 *pala* An inscription at Sanchi, from the end of the 5th century, shows that the interest on 12-1/2 dinara was enough to feed 5 monks per day. From the normal interest rate of 12% on permanent endowments, it has been thought permissible to deduce that a dinara would suffice to maintain a man for a year. The difficulties begin when we try to translate these results into modern terms.

Let us consider the scale of payments and salaries given by Kautilya (V, 3) in money the value of which cannot be decided in absolute figures:

48,000 *pana* (per month, apparently) for the chief priest, the spiritual guide of the king, the *mantrin* (see § 50), the court chaplain, the commander-in-chief, the crown prince, the queen-mother, and the first wife; 24,000 for the chief court officer, the superintendent of the harem, the *prasatri* (?), the *samahartri* (see § 51), the *samnidhatri* (see § 51); 12,000 for the princes and their mothers, the general of an army, the chief magistrate, the superintendent of industries, the councillors, the superintendent general, the margrave; 8,000 for the heads of corporations, the heads of corps of the army, the *pradestri* (see § 53); 4,000 for the principal superintendents (see § 51); 2,000 for the chief of the war chariots, and of the military medical department, etc.; 1,000 for soothsayers, bards, and various other superintendents; 500 for a trained professional infantryman, for clerks, etc.; 350 for actors; 120 for artisans; 60 for servants, aids, men on compulsory labour. Spies received from 500 to 1000. It was a hierarchy indeed, the amplitude of which was very remarkable, resulting less from the services rendered than of interests, which state showed in favouring certain categories. In the *Asatamanta Jataka,* the income of a reputed master at Takshasila is 1000 *pana* (there is a similar case in the *Panchavudha Jataka*), while the pay of a cow-herd is 1 or 1/4 *pana* per month.

SLAVERY

§ 90. *Slavery.* There remains the difficult question of slavery. Were there slaves in the real sense in ancient India? The texts lead us to conclude that there were. It is true that Kautilya lays it down that there is no slavery for an Arya (III, 13), but the evidence, which contradicts or qualifies other

statements, implies at most that the Arya does not lose his quality of Arya, that the notions of *arya* and *dasa* are incompatible. It is a theoretical claim, and we still need to know if arya here is the opposite of *mlechchha* (non-Indian), as seems to be the case, or merely of sudra, as is the normal usage. As to the statements of Megasthenes, often quoted, according to which slavery was unknown in India, undoubtedly they must be taken to mean no more than that the form of slavery practised in Greece was unknown in India.

The term *dasa,* of common occurrence in the Veda, referred originally to the occupants of the country suppressed or reduced by the Aryan invasion (see § 2), and may have had an ethnic meaning (the attempt has been made, without much result, to link it with the Daoi of Herodotus). Later it designated a category of workers subjected to a master and distinct from the main body of *karmakara* (see § 79). Since the *Rigveda, dasa* and *dasi* have figured among the "gifts" offered to Brahmans.

It is evident that the term covers different notions. The Buddhist sources know four types of *dasa,* those who were *dasa* "by their mother," "those who have been driven by fear," "those who came of their own accord," and "those bought with money." We hear also of prisoners of war subjected to slavery, and of people "received" by way of gift or otherwise. The slave "of the stomach" of Kautilya is probably the child who, unable to get maintenance from his relatives, sells himself. Manu gives seven groups, Kautilya eight or nine, Narada has as many as fifteen. According to the last-named, the essential difference between "slaves" and the ordinary workers was that the work of the former was impure (sweeping, helping in the kitchen and in the dressing room). In fact, it is possible to distinguish these two categories:

(a) A servitude subject to conditions and terminating. This is the position of the "serf by punishment," who works off the fine to which he has been sentenced; and of the "serf by debt," who enters the service of his creditor, who has charge of maintaining him. This second category can be divided into a discharge type (whose services count towards the extinction of the debt), and a performance type (the defaulting debtor being enslaved, and his work being regarded as legal punishment). Somewhat similar is the case of one who is delivered as a pledge: he is set free when the engagement is fulfilled, but if the pledge is liquidated by payment, the serf enters into the category of "slave by purchase." There are some other forms of temporary contract, the term of which

is marked by the mere cessation of the work, or by the payment of a forfeit; a man who has been maintained during a famine frees himself by paying a pair of oxen; the prisoner of war or the man who has entered into servitude through losing a trial or a bet, pays an equivalent in money for the work which he has failed to perform.

(b) Permanent and unconditional servitude, falling into the following categories: the slave born in the house (or born of a slave), the slave by purchase, the "received." These are slaves belonging to the family, and taken as remaining faithful to it. They have no formal contract, and the rights of the master in them pass to his heirs. However, liberation may occur, as when a *dasa* saves the life of his master, or when a *dasi* has a child by her master; certain categories of women can claim their liberty, and there is provision of a penalty for one who refuses the ransom of a slave offering a proper price. We possess the formula of liberation, which was accompanied by sprinkling and the breaking of the vessel (*Naradasmriti*, *Kalpasutra*), and could be followed by readmission to caste.

CATEGORIES OF SERVITUDE

§ 91. We should like to know in what measure it was possible to enslave a person. We have much difficulty in deciding this. We are told that those dedicated to the religious life who broke their vows were liable to be made slaves of the king, who employed them as spies; but this was, presumably, a rare case. Had parents the right to sell their children? The Smriti is clearly hesitant; this right is recognised theoretically, but its exercise is considered disgraceful in practice. We find in literature, as in the *Milindapanha,* a father overwhelmed by debt allowed to sell his children. The Jatakas contain a number of examples of persons enslaved as a result of condemnation, or given away, or sold by order of the king. If these texts are to be believed, even ordinary farmers, and Brahmans of small means, held slaves. *Bandi,* an Iranian word, is used in lyric poetry, with an erotic connotation, to designate a woman seized as booty in war. Caste considerations play their usual part: a Kshatriya can be a slave only to a Brahman, a Vaisya only to a Kshatriya or a Brahman, and a Brahman cannot be enslaved. Enslavement by an inferior was permitted only in case of a major crime. Slaves were however cheap, as appears from the rates of fines and ransoms, and from the stated conditions of purchase (500 *karsapana* in the Jatakas).

Some provision was made to protect them. Whether

voluntary or under constraint, a "pledged" slave had to be treated well, or the master would lose his right over him; it was even considered permissible if he tried to escape (at least the first time). It was recommended that slaves should be well fed, rules were given for the protection of their children, a pregnant girl was supposed not to be sold or hired out. Asoka enjoins the humane treatment of slaves; the *Kathasarit-sagara* (XXVII) shows us a slave working in the house of a Brahman, married to a worker who is himself in the service of a merchant, and living with him in a house which they have had built for themselves. Some rose to occupy important positions: a rich *setthi* made his slave a treasurer (*Jatakas*, I, p. 451).

In principle they could not hold property. In addition to domestic work, they could be given labour on the royal estates; their young women were a source of prostitutes. It is necessary to take notice of the criticism directed against the institution itself in a passage in the *Mahabharata* (XII, 262).

CHAPTER VIII

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIFE

§ 92. *The Splendour of the Court.* Except the religious life (which we shall not describe here), the principal interest of the lyrical and romantic literature is centred upon those of high rank, and particularly upon the person of the king. There is nothing to rival the fascination of the accounts of the king's person, the retinue, the court receptions, such as are found, for example, from one end to the other of the *Harshacharita* that manual of royal magnificence. The inscriptions mingled with panegyrics of the reigning king pay compliments to the whole family from which he descends, amounting to so many outlines of dynastic epics, such as we find in full literary expression in the *Raghuvamsa*. "Firmly embraced by glory, he is absorbed with avidity, like ambrosia, by thousands of eyes," "the circle of vassal kings bows before him, their hearts trembling with fear, their heads shining with a thousand rays from their golden diadems, on which the gems undulate as they walk" (*Harshacharita*, VII)—such is the usual type of description, largely inspired by the panegyrics of the gods of

which the hymns of the Veda provide the earliest models. Like the arms and the *vahanas* of the gods, the concrete objects in which the royal grandeur is expressed have a place in the cult: thus the sandals (which symbolise the king in his absence, as do those of the exiled Rama in the *Ramayana*), and above all, the umbrella or *chhattra* ("white, with a staff of turquoise, and patterns of rubies set on the top," *Harshacharita,* VII), a cosmic and religious symbol (also used in the portrayal of the Buddha) in evidence as far back as the end of the Vedic period; and finally the *chamara* or "aigrettes" (fly-flaps), made from the yak's tail, known since the epic period. Which monarch does not boast, like Rudradaman, of his fabulous treasure of gold, silver, beryls and various precious stones? Or of the pious foundations to which he has given his name?

A whole world lived around the king, from the chaplain and the court priests to the lowest servants. The court was the centre of an activity which concerned all aspects of material and spiritual life. Throughout the literary works, the greater number of occupations are described as functions of the king. The games and sports are those of the king. The classical poetry is a court poetry; the practice of the arts depended on princely commands. Just as politics was *rajadharma,* just as epic poetry, major and minor, was composed for the edification of princes, so the stories themselves sum up *niti* for princes, and the principles of gallantry are laid down for the king. The *nayaka,* properly the chief, is the ideal lover for the purposes of the Kamasastra, just as he is the hero for the purposes of the theatre. The list of the "sciences," an old doctrine of the Upanishads, which developed into a list of "sixty-four arts" (*Kamasutra,* I, 3; *Kalavilasa,* IV, etc.; 72 sciences and 100 arts, *Kalpasutra,* p. 282)—distinct from the 64 arts of Panchala Babhravya, which relate to the art of love —were taught primarily for the prince. "(The ten princes) learned from the rudiments all the writings, the languages of all the countries, the whole of the Veda and its six attached branches (see § 110), poetry, the drama, the stories and romances, the legends, mythology with its enchanting stories, all the Treatises, Laws, Grammer, Astronomy, Logic, Hermeneutics, and the rest, the series of political text-books, the Kautilya, the Kamandakiya, and the others, all the musical instruments beginning with the vina, singing, artistic composition, the use of amulets, plants, and other magical practices, the employment of elephants, horses, and other mounts, and vehicles, the various arms, the arts of theft, of dice-play, etc." (*Dasakumaracharita, purvap* Int. I). The accomplish-

ments of the king in various branches of knowledge have been celebrated since Rudradaman in the *prashasti* of the inscriptions.

The king's employment of his time, extraordinarily full, is a classic theme, first described by Kautilya (I, 19), and taken up again, with a certain amount of humour, in the *Dasa-kumaracharita* (VIII); it is outlined in Manu (VII, 145 et seq, 216 et seq), and in the *Mahabharata* (XV, 5), and the *Yogayatra*, (II, 17 et seq). Strictly it is the allotment of his tasks among eight "hours" of the day and eight of the night, fixed by the sun or the water-clock; and it provided the model for the employment of the time of the poet (*Kavyamimamsa*, X) and that of the lover (*Kamasutra*, I, 5). The indications found in Megasthenes correspond only in minor particulars with those given by Kautilya. Other taxts mention royal "occupations" which do not enter into the formal lists of the king's daily tasks: as for Siddhartha (*Kalpasutra, Aupapatika*), for Harsha (*Harshacharita*), and for Bhoja (*Bhojaprabandha*). The theme of the apportionment of the king's day in the palace is treated in the *Vikramankadevacharita* (IX-XI), an unquestionably faithful picture of an epoch and of a monarchy (that of Vikramaditya of Kalyana).

WHEN KING WENT OUT OF PALACE?

§ 93. The king did not live only in the palace. During war he had to go out on expeditions, generally in the autumn, and to live in camp. We have elaborate descriptions of camp life, and of armies on the move (§ 72). The king went on a pilgrimage, or visited a foundation or a famous ascetic, and he attended certain popular festivals (he would walk through the city at midnight on the occasion of the *nirajana* or lustration of arms, sometimes incognito); and he went hunting. Usually during these movements the royal party would be guarded, and the route would be cleared of all suspicious persons. Megasthenes mentions that this was done for the king's judicial audiences, attendance at sacrifices, and hunting.

The theme of the seasons was originally a background to descriptions of the king's amusements, open-air and indoors, and his employments in peace and war. Beginning in the epics, where (at least in the *Ramayana*) it already carried voluptous overtones, the theme was developed in lyric poetry from the time of the *Raghuvamsa*, and finally gave rise to a conventional cycle in which utilitarian ideas (the "seasonable diet," inspired by the medical texts) were conjoined with those of gallantry and naturalism.

Etiquette is described in detail, and lapses were considered among minor crimes (see § 34). It was not limited to the king or the nobility: there was a correct mode of salutation for people of the four classes (Manu, II, 127), and a Brahman who did not know how to return a salutation made to him was "equal to a Sudra" (Manu, II, 126).

The harem (*antahpura*, properly "interior city"), which is referred to vaguely in the *Rigveda* (VII, 18, 2), was the object of descriptions more poetical than realistic in the *Kadambari* (tr. pp. 51, 144, 217). It included a special residence for the "principal" queen; the servants and attendants of the princesses, who were distinct from those who served the king, were responsible above all for protecting their mistresses from all contact with the outside world. Kautilya (I, 20) gives details on the construction of the *antahpura*, including underground passages, private staircases, and precautions against fire. The zenana described in that manual of bourgeois life which is the *Kamasutra* (IV, 2) is also a royal harem.

The king was surrounded, according to Kautilya, by female guards, armed with bows, and also by eunuchs, dwarfs, Kiratas (see §86), and hunchbacks. The Greek evidence points to the presence of women, who can be compared to the young female servants of the epics, to the *yavani* ("Greek women"?) and Kirata women of the *Vikramorvasi*, and to the *yavani* archers of the *Sakuntala*. The retinue of Siddhartha (*Kalpasutra*, p. 243) is an example of a poetically amplified account.

There were courtesans (see §77) in the palace; it was one of their duties, during audiences, to wave the *chamaras* (*Prasannaraghava*, III, 11). Other figures of some importance were the *vidusaka*, and the *vita*, of whom dramatic theory has made standard characters. They are to be found also in the surroundings contemplated in the Kamasastra. The *vidusaka*, whose name means "he who makes things laughed at", is the buffoon, the confidant who is faithful to the king and appreciated in spite of his faults and clumsiness. The *vita* is another type of confidant, a parasite, wit, and libertine; a variant of this type is the *pithamarda*, the go-between in affairs of gallantry (see *Samayamatrika*, passim; *Nagananda*, III).

There were court bards, the *suta*, spoken of already in the Veda: old drivers of the royal chariot who took to reciting episodes of an heroic character, composed or edited by their ancestors. They sang at feasts and took part in war, according to the example of the *suta* Sanjaya, who in the

Mahabharata narrates the events of the battle to king Dhritarastra. It is possible however that the two functions of driver and herald were separated at an early period, as seems to be implied by Kautilya (III, 7). Of less exalted rank were the *kusilava,* who spread the heroic songs among the people, accompanying themselves on the *vina;* the *magadhas* (properly "men of Magadha"), who were attached to the person of a Brahman or a Kshatriya; and the *vaitalika,* who in the drama proclaimed the important hours of the king's day, not without clothing even these in some amount of panegyric. The *Kalavilasa* (VII) has some humorous criticism of these courtiers, among whom the dominant characteristic was not care for the truth.

FESTIVALS

§ 94. *Festivals.* The chief events of the king's life, the coronation, the birth of a son, a victory, were the occasion of celebrations, in addition to the religious and secular feasts of the calendar. The most usual word for "feast" is *utsava,* the literal meaning of which is "production (of magico-religious force)". The ancient institution of the *rajasuya* (see § 42) persisted only as a decorative remnant. An element which remained was the *abhiseka* or "sprinkling", a rite performed at the beginning of a reign, of which there are many descriptions from the epic age onward. The great examples were the inauguration of Rama in the *Ramayana,* and of Yudhisthira in the *Mahabharata.* A ritual is described in the *Agni Purana.* But the majority of accounts give more attention to the spectacle than to the real ceremony. When the *Raghuvamsa* (XVII) treats of the inauguration of Atithi, the grandson of Rama, it describes in turn the platform supported by four pillars, the golden vessels of holy water borne by the dignitaries, the sound of trumpets and drums, the lustration of arms (*nirajana*) with the offering of the bark of the banyan tree, "the holy water falling in big drops on the head" of the new king, the panegyrics of the bards, the receptions, where the king is seated on a throne "of white ivory", the solemn entrance into the *sabha* where he takes his seat on the throne; and finally the gifts, and remissions of punishment. The *Manasara* (XLIX) treats of the royal ornaments and insignia, of the decoration of the palace, and of the various types of crown; and elsewhere (XLV) of the ten kinds of throne or "lion seat" (*simhasana*), with the arch or *torana* which hung above it. The throne gave rise to a vast system of symbolism, deriving in part from the *paryanka* of Brahman (*Kausitaki*

Upanishad, I, 4), before which the newly arriving soul had to present itself (cf. *Aitareya Brahmana,* VIII, 5, *Atharvaveda,* XV, 3). Soon after the coronation of Harsha (*Harshacharita,* VII) the king passes through a village, and we see the administrator, accompanied by his clerks, present to the king a gold seal newly marked with the emblem of the Bull, and say to him: "May your Majesty, whose orders are never in vain, begin to give orders from this very day." The letters patent which Harsha sent to Hiuan-tsang consisted of white cotton, sealed with red wax.

THE ROYAL MARRIAGE

§95. The royal marriage, such as is described in the *Raghuvamsa* (VII) (the marriage of Aja and Indumati), in the *Kumarasambhava* (VII) (of Siva and Parvati), and in the *Naishadhacharita* (XVI) (of Nala and Damayanti), in elaboration of the scenes in the epics, also tended to diverge from the purely ritual ceremony which we find set forth in all the domestic Sutras. The texts on the Kamasastra describe in plain terms the bourgeois marriage following the Gandharva mode (see §16). The emphasis on display is also evident in the funerals of kings, of which the most sumptuous description is that in the *Harshacharita* (V) (the death of Prabhakaravardhana). The general distribution of alms might take the form of a ceremony, such as the grandiose "festival of deliverance (*moksha*)" under Harsha, in 643 A.D.

Classical Hinduism involved an imposing cycle of festivals of very various types; perhaps the most complete calendar of them is that given in the *Bhavisyottara Purana,* (CXXXII et seq.) These preserve old ritual themes, some of which were inspired by practices which go back to the Veda (such as the Mahavrata), intermingled with secular observances, such as popular customs based on the cycle of the seasons (after the fashion of the Chaturmasya of the old liturgy). Without going back as far as the *Brahmamaha,* referred to in the *Mahabharata* (I, 166, Bombay edn.), a celebration of all castes in honour of the Brahmans, or to the *Indramaha,* the feast of Indra's banner (ibd., I, 63, and in more detail, *Brihatsamhita,* XLIII), we may mention, among those most commonly described in the clasical lyric poetry, the conjoint festival of spring and love, a pretext for erotic play from which poetry drew much material: "the young women enjoyed the spring fetes: though they were skilful in the new game on the swing they were so eager to kiss the neck of their lover that they loosened their hold on the cord of the swing and

allowed their arms to fall'' (*Raghuvamsa*, IX. 46). Several lyrical comedies open with a scene at this festival, with the popular dances ("the streets resounding with the din of the frenzied *charchari*"), the squirting of water infused with scented powders, and the procession of a car decorated with images of the gods (*Ratnavali*, I, 9-10). It appears that Asoka wished to restrict these festivities (*samaja*), except those having moral purposes (or accompanied by divine manifestations?), just as he condemned journeys for pleasure for the king.

THE BUILDINGS

§96. *The Palace; the House.* The building which is most often described, after the temple, in the palace, though only the treatises on Silpasastra go into precise detail. The purely literary descriptions (*Harashacharita*, V; *Naishadhacharita*, XVIII; *Kadambari*, tr. pp. 89 and 217; *Avimaraka* and *Abhishekanataka*; *passim*, etc.) which we can compare with that given by Aelian (Megasthenes) of the palace of Chandragupta at Pataliputra, have supplied the model for the descriptions of rich men's private houses. Among these, we notice the great house of the courtesans in *Brihatkathaslokasamgraha*, (X, 90), which itself echoes and summarises the famous description of the palace of Vasantasena in *Mrichchhakatika*, with its eight courtyards surrounded by enchanting buildings. The picture no doubt is largely fantastic, but is strikingly realistic in some details, such as the building for the goldsmiths and jewellers in the sixth courtyard, with "its arches set with sapphires looking like the rainbow; the workers who check, one by one, the gems of all kinds, cat's eye, pearl, corals, topaz, sapphires, beryls, rubies, emeralds; the rubies which are set in gold, the gold ornaments being shaped, the pearls being tied together with a red thread, the cat's eyes which it takes so long to polish, the shells being cut, the corals being tried on the touchstone''. The technical treatises, less inclined to exaggerate, admit five courtyards as a maximum (*prakara*).

If some of these treatises are to be believed, private houses had from one to eleven storeys (according to caste!), the maximum height being a hundred cubits (see, for example, the *Brihatsamhita*, LIII). The normal house of a Brahman, we are told, was a *chatuhsala*, which means that it occupied four sides of a rectangle, of which the middle was an open courtyard. There were of course houses of various kinds, such as the *prasada*, with a flat roof forming a terrace, and the

kutagara with a pointed roof on a platform reached by a staircase. Doors and windows did not open on to the main roads, and a space was left between two neighbouring houses. In front of the building were some sort of veranda (*alinda*), some steps (*vedika*), and a path leading to the street. Of the interior apartments, we have in the *Kamasutra* (I, 4) a description of the room of a man of fashion, and of the residence of the poet in the *Kavyamimamsa* (X). Later literature gives other details: one which recurs frequently is the bathroom (*dharagriha*), with its elaborate arrangements (see *Kalpasutra*, p. 242; *Kadambari*, p. 13; *Vikramankadevacharita*, XII; *Manasollasa*, II, p. 81).

THE TOWN

§ 97. *The Town.* There is little to be learnt from the merely conventional accounts of Indian cities, such as that of Ujjayini in the *Kadambari* (p. 210), of Sthanvisvara in the *Harshacharita* (III), or of Sagala in the *Milindapanha*, all more concerned to improve upon the epic precedents (Ayodhya, Lanka, Sakala in the *Ramayana*, Indraprastha in the *Mahabharata*, Mathura and Dvaraka in the *Harivamsa*) than to adhere to any reality. However, several points are confirmed by Megasthenes, who describes the fortified city of Palibothra (Pataliputra); and some others by the Chinese pilgrims. The most comprehensible notion is the distinction of fortified places, towns of residence or pleasure, and market towns; and then the allocation to streets or quarters of the various occupations (or the castes which correspond to them), though it is not necessary to accept the harmony between human groups and the various qualities of the *localities* they inhabit, which the theory emphasises.

The principal streets were so arranged as to continue the great highways. The area was carefully surveyed, and the plan was more or less pronouncedly oblong, as is confirmed by the epic accounts (Ayodhya was 12 by 3 *yojana*, Dvaraka 12 by 8). The planners took their cue from the chessboard, dividing the town into rectangular blocks (the typical arrangement had 81 blocks), with a road all round it. The situation and nature of the public places (squares planted with trees and provided with lofty lamps-posts), fountains, places of worship, public buildings (placed, in principle, in the centre of the town) were laid down in advance. The principal temple was itself a miniature city, with its *gopura* (a massive tower above the entrance), its ramparts and its stores. The streets, paved with flagstones or small pebbles, had gutters on both

sides; they were of various kinds, and ranged in width from one to five *dhanus* (the *dhanus* was in general equal to four *hasta* or cubits). The necessities of defence were responsible for some special characteristics. According to Megasthenes, Indian towns were ordinarily built of wood, only those on elevated sites making use of brick and stone (or mud).

The treatises speak of a committee for the extension of the town. It seems to have been a normal practice, instead of extending the area of the city, to duplicate it by building a second city, which might be reserved for people of lower status. In any case parks, playgrounds, and cemeteries or burning grounds (all often described in the lyrical poetry, or in the works derived from the *Brihatkatha*) were situated outside the town, as also were all or a part of the "outcaste". The architect was a person of high status (see § 76), and was supported by the "cord-bearer" (*sutragrahin*), and by the chief of the smiths and of the carpenters.

The site for a new town was chosen with minute care: the geographical position (the right bank of a river) and the topography of the area, were taken into account; a slope towards the east was considered desirable. There were rites of consecration, and they had recourse to divination, using procedures deriving from old magical ideas; the points of the compass were determined by the sundial.

The descriptions omit many important points: fragmentary details are often all that we get. Kautilya (II, 36) mentions, for example, conduits for the draining away of water (cf. Megasthenes), and refers to a curfew at midnight among the tasks of the urban police.

In regard to the roads, Megasthenes speaks of milestones which were put up every ten stadia along the highway which crossed continental India from east to west. The Indian sources state that there were water supplies, installed by Asoka, every eight *krosa* (see § 69), as well as groves of trees, and perhaps stairways leading down to river banks. Various kinds of roads are enumerated in *Manasara* IX; that most commonly mentioned is the "royal way", which according to Kautilya (II, 4) would have a width of 8 *danda* (15 yards). There were halting places, shelters, and water supplies for travellers.

Nothing would be more illusory than to search for facts of this type relating to Vedic times. Towns were unknown, or at least there is nothing which enables us to imagine what they were like: the word *pur* in the Hymns, despite certain emphatic attributions, seems to have meant nothing more

than a fort. In spite of the thousand pillars and the thousand doors sometimes spoken of in the Hymns, the house in Vedic times must have been a modest structure, not differing greatly from the light bamboo edifices, with matting walls and thatched roofs, described in the solemn rituals. However, there are two hymns in the *Atharvaveda* (III, 12 ; IX 3) concerning a house which, without being completely different, appears to have been very much larger, with its *chatuhsala* structure of the classical type.

Finally the village, which Kautilya (III, 1), defines as "a group of Sudras and cultivators (free), numbering from a hundred to five hundred families, distant one or two *krosa* from the next village" has not very outstanding characteristics. Somewhat pedantically, the *Manasara* describes eight types, and the *Kamikagama* as many as fifteen. It may be noticed that the greatest extension of the village was generally from east to west. A passage in the *Mahabharata* (V, 47, 18) speaks of villages of straw huts, which burnt easily. For the classical period we must think of a mean somewhere between the straggling village of primitive times and the miniature town with public buildings spoken of in the treatises. Village fortifications seem to be mentioned (*Yajnavalkya Smriti*, II, 167).

THE ARTS OF THE COURT: POETRY

§ 98. *The arts of the court: poetry.* The attraction of the court is displayed nowhere more than in the domain of the fine arts. Court poetry is almost the only poetry which has come down to us. It flourished more especially if the prince, priding himself on his poetical ability, encouraged competitions and production. Vikramaditya, with whom a persistent tradition associates the memory of the "nine jewels" present in his court, among whom was Kalidasa ; and later Harsha, and then Bhoja, were patrons of poetry. Samudragupta and and Kumaragupta-I held the envied title of kaviraja, poet-king. The splendour of the poetical assemblies, shown by the late evidence of the *Srikanthacharita* (XXV), and of the *Kavyamimamsa* (X), may equally have adorned those of earlier times. It is believed that since Vedic times poetical creation was the product of competitions, in which the composers elaborated a given theme: the winner received rewards which were sometimes fabulous. The suggestion may be made that the hymns which we possess are an anthology of winning compositions. The over-elaboration of images, which is to be noticed everywhere in the lyrical poetry, results from this very competition.

There existed a body of ritual puzzles, of which the plan, laid down in advance, unrolled itself in the course of certain great liturgies. The early form of it was a rapid exchange of questions and answers on an assortment of cosmic and sacrificial subjects. It was from this root that "theological" controversy emerged, which also naturally conformed to the ground-plan of a tournament, such as we see in the Upanishad (the *Brihadaranyaka*) or in the *Mahabharata*. The taste for difficult questions, conundrums, was universal in ancient India: we may recall the story of the grammarian and the driver in Patanjali, the Yaksha or Indian "sphinx" in the epic literature, the catechism in grammar, poetics, logic, which formed the main part of teaching, and the "testing" of the Vetala in the *Twenty Five Tales*. Charaka (III, 8) gives an instructive picture of the conditions of medical disputation. Janaka, the king of Videha, would have infringed upon the Brahmans' supremacy, if he had not had as his opponent the great Yajnavalkya, whose primacy he definitely recognised.

LITERARY GATHERING

§ 99. In epic and classical India, the *sabha* the old name of a semi-political assembly, (see § 49) came to mean a literary gathering presided over by the prince or the lord, or alternatively the place in which it was held, in the environs or in the interior of the palace. Plays were performed there, the *Mahabarata* was recited (cf. *Kadambari*, pp. 53, 162), competitions were held among poets, or among authors of didactic treatises. It was open to any talent, and represented a broadening of opportunity for literature. The other side of the medal was the necessity of praising the prince. The "naming word" the Vedic *shamsa* (where the Rishi inserted praise of himself, or an anagram of his name, near the *danastuti*), remained the fashion. The author's reward did not only take the form of gifts in kind or in money, the Vedic *dakshina*, or the 800 meals awarded to Nagasena (with cloth worth 100,000 *karsapana*); it consisted rather in an enviable fame, in the title "master of knowledge". Thus we see Bana, after a wandering life, establishing himself in Harsha's court; later Bilhana, leaving his own land of Kashmir, went from court to court, "living by poetry", until he had won the title he desired from King Tribhuvanamalla at Kalyana. In the Upanishad Janaka asks a disputant: "Why have you come here? Do you want cows, or (to expound) subtle conclusions (i.e., speculative theses)?" "The one and the other."

The argument was baited with a challenge: he who

refused to take it up was declared defeated. The game did not consist only in applying the rules of polished poetry ("in which the word and the sense are welded one to the other (in an eternal relation", *Raghuvamsa,* I, 1), with the series of figures, explicit and implicit, verbal and semantical, emotional suggestion (*rasa*), and the suggestion of sound (*dhvani*). It was necessary also to have the quick wit to improvise—"fast poets" were specially esteemed, and since Vedic times the true brahman was the enigmatic-formula-arrived-at-by-improvision—and to compose the "complement" of a verse, of which the first half, made up for the occasion, or borrowed from a known text, was given to the competitors. The *Bhojaprabandha* thus describes the competition between Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti organised by the king. We have records of that between Nagasena and Milinda, and of that held at Kanyakubja under Harsha between Hiuan-tsang and the Hinayana heretics, and between Brahmans and Hindu sectarians.

The competition was not always honest; there were underhand dealings, and the morals of the pandits were often made a subject of satire; do we not find, as early as the *Satapatha,* the Brahman Uddalaka winning over his adversary with a piece of gold concealed about his person? The *Kavyamimamsa* (X) shows that there were poetical competitions at Ujjayini, and competitions of learned works at Pataliputra. In addition to the *sabhas* there were more restricted bodies, *gosthi,* "clubs": the word also refers to certain rural organisations in the time of the Sakas.

FINE ARTS: PAINTING AND MUSIC

§ 100. *Painting and other arts.* Though we are fairly well informed on the technique of music by the treatises on *Sangita,* and somewhat less well on that of painting by the texts on *Chitra,* we know little of the conditions in which art work was done. It was certainly dependent on the orders or the favour of the great. Like the poets, portrait painters went from one court to another offering their services, and sometimes carrying out confidential missions (*Kathasaritsagara*). The portrait was made use of in courtship (see *Ratnavali*).

The existence of frescoes representing the human figure is proved by the *Vinaya;* such representation was forbidden by the Buddha, who allowed only floral designs to be painted (*Chullavagga,* VI, 3). A Jataka story (*Ummagga*) mentions pictures showing "the glory of Sakka, the zones surrounding Mount Sineru, the sea and the great ocean, the four continents, the Himalaya, the Anottata lake, the moon, the sun, the four

masters of the world, the six visible heavens . . . . . as if to adorn the hall of the gods, the Sudhamma". We get references to old fables of paintings made by masters of magic, by *devas, yakshas* and *nagas*.

The same sources mention a gallery of paintings belonging to king Pasenadi of Kosala. The classical theatre makes use, quite as a convention, of a scene in which the principal feature is a picture or a statue (*Malatimadhava*, I; *Pratima-nataka*, III, 4-5; see also *Kathasaritsagara*, IV). There were rooms of paintings in the houses of the rich. Paintings were done on a wall covered with lime, on wood, on cloth, even on prepared earth. In the period of the drama and of the *Dasakumaracharita*, every cultivated person seems to have had the necessary materials in his house, a drawing table, pencils and brushes, and colours. The *Vishnudharmottara* applies the theory of *rasa* to painting, and regards it as a means of awakening latent impressions, as by the scenic art; it insists on the close relation between painting and dancing. The six canons of painting are known and quoted from the time of Yasodhara's commentary on the *Kamasutra*.

Sculpture is better known from the technical point of view, because many of the Puranas and other texts deal with images of the gods and their installation in sanctuaries; they explain in detail how these images must be made in order to conform to the canon. A golden statute of Sita is mentioned in the *Ramayana*.

As regards the minor arts, we may refer to the existence at an early period of innumerable objects in sculpted or beaten metal, and to ivory work (see § 85; the *Mrichchhakatika* speaks of a high door of ivory; ivory dolls are referred to in the *Kamasutra* and the *Malatimadhava*). All the sources, as far back as the Veda itself, testify to an extraordinary profusion of jewels, some of them of quite improbable value. Precious stones and pearls in particular were made up into necklaces, which were given names according to the number of rows they contained (*Brihatsamhita*, LXXXI; Kautilya, II, 11). The lyrical poetry, the stories, and even the epics mention ear-rings, diadems, bracelets, brooches and "anklets" which jingled as one walked. Every family of wealth had its goldsmith. So much was this that in figures represented in sculpture and painting, jewels formed the greater part, if not the whole, of the costume. They are met with again on the harness of elephants and horses, and even of cattle, and in the decoration of chariots and beds. Lamps of jewels, a seat of emerald (*Kadambari*, p. 156), "the brilliance of the precious stones on the gold of

the pillars, from which hung great chains of pearls" (*Priya-darsika,* III, 2), stairs of gold encrusted with gems, windows of crystal from which hung strings of pearls, doors ornamented with sapphires (*Mrichchhakatika*), these are recurring themes, in the lyrical poetry.

Woodwork was used less for furniture (which was rudimentary, except chairs of state) than in architecture. We see vestiges of it in the sculptured pillars, and in doors, which originally were boards without hinges, fixed with pegs. The oldest surviving specimen of woodwork is in the porch of one of the great *chaityas* at Karli.

If there was no porcelain, and indeed little glazed pottery, before the Muslim period, there was on the other hand a great deal of decorated pottery, figurines, vases, and seal impressions in baked clay. The painting and dyeing of cloth were known, as we see from the chapter on painted stuffs in the *Manjusri-mulakalpa;* as also, no doubt, was embroidery, the name of which is believed to have been identified in the word *pesas* of the *Rigveda.* The *Rajasuya* alludes to a garment of linen embroidered with religious images.

MUSIC

§101. *Music.* Music was known from the earliest period of tradition, and played an important part in the liturgy. Though classical Hinduism had not preserved the chants and choruses of the *Samaveda,* at least it retained the idea of a divine music, created for the palaces of the gods, and of heavenly musicians, of which the mythological image is the Gandharvas.

In the life of the court, music had many uses, apart from entertainment. The royal display necessitated the frequent use of instruments, not only for births, consecration, and victories, but even for ordinary journeys, and for proclamations. Kautilya mentions sound signals used in time of war. Harsha was preceded by a hundred metal drums on which a beat was struck at each step (Hiuan-tsang). The typical instrument of ancient society was the *vina,* which is mentioned in the *Brihatkathaslokasamgraha* (XVII) as used during the process of wooing. The name of the *vina,* used since the *Taittiriya Samhita,* designates a sort of *cithara,* perhaps originally a harp. Other instruments of Vedic antiquity are the flute, the conch, the cymbals, the drum (cf. also the "drum of clay"). They increased in number in later times, when there appeared bodies of instrumentalists attached to the court and enjoying certain privileges; others, more independent, hired themselves out

(Jatakas). The earliest iconographic evidence is from Bharhut; at Sanchi the cross-blown flute appears.

A symbolism attached to the instruments, which were regarded as reproducing the divine voice; they were made by the gods in their own image, they were connected with the cosmic order, and they also imitated the human body, according to an allegory given in detail in the *Aitareya Aranyaka* (III, 2, 5).

For the dance, the theory of which became especially elaborate in the Natyasastra and later, there is good literary evidence in the *Malatimadhava,* with the lesson of the dancing master and the performance which follows it. [cf. also the song scene in the Bengali version of *Vikramorvasi* (IV).]

THE THEATRE

§ 102. *The theatre.* Music, singing and dancing were originally constituents of the drama, a composite art in which the most varied aesthetic elements had their place. They were harmonised in accordance with fixed principles, in such a way that the verbal element, itself subject to the demands of diction, rhythm, and literary and linguistic convention, was made an instrument of *abhinaya* or "scenic representation", to which mimicry, gesture, instrumental music, and the psychological science of the states of the soul, all contributed. The best *nataka* was that "in which the various dramatic moods harmonise with the connecting passages, in which the musical modes correspond to the varieties of sentiment, in which the Apsaras show the grace of their attitudes" (*Kumarasambhava,* VII, 91).

There were no permanent acting companies, except perhaps in some important courts which maintained bodies of actors and mimes. There were no theatre buildings: they used a room set apart for dancing in the palace, or often performed in the temple, before the image of the divinity. But there was also a popular stage, on the occasion of festivities; and the *yatra,* "processions", part religious, part secular, of the Puranas and mediaeval India, included dramatic shows, and these no doubt are what was referred to by the term *rupadakkha* of the *Milindapanha* (the *lupadakha* of the Jagimara cave). The actors carried their properties from place to place; with the acrobats, magicians and other showmen they were the true nomads of India in classical times. The director was at the same time the architect of the theatre and the stage manager; he was called "cord carrier" (*sutradhara*). He was helped by an assistant, and himself played the part of the

hero, with the actress who played the heroine and was often his wife. The stage was closed at the back by a curtain, the colour of which was changed according to the "emotional tone" of the play; two young girls raised it whenever anybody came on to the stage. The theatre was rectangular, the stage being at the end of a short side, but not at a lower level, as was long believed. The theatre was no doubt arranged to accommodate tournaments, dances, circus shows, and the spectacular concomitants of the *swayamvara*. The spectators took their places in a conventional order ; the *Kavyamimamsa* (X) describes a hall divided according to "occupations" and with a platform on four pillars for literary competitions.

If there was no decoration, there were many stage accessories, some real, some symbolic. There are long accounts of the qualities required in the artist, a person of low status, often disreputable, (there is a story on the subject in the *Mahabhashya*), but sometimes able to win the favour of the great. Performances took place ordinarily on the occasion of a festival or a public event. The *Kuttanimata* describes in some detail the "first night" of a romantic comedy, the *Ratnavali* of Harsha, and the convention of the *garbhanka* or "embryo act" inserted into a number of classical comedies, adds more details to our knowledge of the way a play was staged.

There has been some discussion on the existence of a shadow-play, which it is supposed may be referred to by Patanjali in connection with the *saubhika*, reciters (and mimes?) who recounted on the stage the deeds of legendary heroes. Marionettes are testified to by the *Mahabharata* and the *Kathasaritsagara,* but it is doubtful if they had any relation with the origin of the Indian drama.

THE LANGUAGE FOR THEATRE

§ 103. The language reserved for theatrical purposes, as for poetry in general, was Sanskrit, the ancient religious language early adapted to secular uses, as is shown by the examples and forms laid down in the Grammar of Panini (5-4th century, B.C.), the lyrical fragments preserved in the *Mahabhashya* (2nd—1st century, B.C.), the use of Sanskrit as the official language in inscriptions from the 2nd century A.D. by the Kshatrapas of the West (towards 150 A.D. at Girnar under Rudradaman); there is what may be a Sanskrit inscription of the 2nd century, B.C. in the Ayodhya region, and there is a noticeable influence of the *kavya* on several Prakrit *prashastis* which date from a time earlier than the epigraphic use of Sanskrit.

It is difficult to decide how far Sanskrit was spoken, and when it ceased to be a language in current use. The *Natyasastra,* of which the date is in doubt (3rd to 4th century, A.D.?), prescribes (XVI, 128) that Sanskrit verses should be easily understood by the people; the *Kamasutra* (of equally doubtful date) advises people of refinement to use neither pure Sanskrit nor dialects in society ; later (*Naishadhacharita,* X, 34) it is said, in relation to events which are evidently legendary, "the kings coming from different regions spoke Sanskrit, for fear of not being understood". In Kautilya's time Sanskrit was the language of the chancellery and of royal documents, and it remained so long afterwards. No doubt there were considerable local divergencies: the Satavahana of Kuntala ordered the use of Prakrit in the women's apartments (*Kavyamimamsa,* X), and one of them was not familiar with the resolution of *modaka* into *mâ udaka* (*Kathasaritsagara,* VI, 114); as the *Saraswatikanthabharana* (II, 15) says, "who did not speak Prakrit in the kingdom of Adhyaraja (a Satavahana)? Who did not speak Sanskrit in the times of Sahasanka (Vikramaditya)?"

The theatre, which reserved Sanskrit to men of high rank and allotted several Prakrit dialects to other people, shows that, at least in the period when the convention was established (the early centuries of our era), the "noble" language was used by a social elite, but those who did not speak it were in a position to understand it.

GAMES

§ 104. *Games.* It would be possible to write a large book on games in ancient India. The type of game of which we have the earliest evidence, and the most important, if we can judge from the epics (the fate of great kingdoms depended on it), was the game of dice, which is probably of ritual origin, in view of the place it occupies in certain ancient ceremonies. A hymn of the *Rigveda* is devoted to the anxieties of an unlucky dice-player. It was originally a game of chance, in which one drew from a heap of nuts ; success consisted in drawing (or leaving in the heap?) a number divisible by four ; skill was shown in quickly estimating the remaining fraction. A similar game appears in the epics, (the episodes of Nala and Yudhisthira). In the Jatakas the nuts are replaced by wooden or ivory prisms with four edges, the four faces being marked with dots; the stake is announced, each player chooses one of the twenty-four combinations, and he who guesses right is the winner. There are lively gambling scenes in the *Brihatkathaslo-*

kasangraha (XXIII), *Kathasaritsagara* (XCII), *Vidhurapandita Jataka,* and the *Dasakumaracharita* (II). The gambling house, of which the legal literature takes some account, (see § 34), is one of the features of social life which are most real to us.

The game of chess is found mentioned from the time of the canonical texts of Jainism (*Sutrakritanga,* I, 9, 17). Other ancient texts have the expression *ashtapada,* "table with eight spaces (on each side, i.e. with 64 spaces in all)," which however is not by itself conclusive. It was a game with four players, in which the pieces were the king, elephant, horse and ship, and there were four pawns. The moves were decided by the throw of two cubical dies, and the theme of the game was drawn from the ideas of strategy, the very name, *chaturanga,* being that of the army with its four corps.

Beginning with the *Mahabharata* we find references to the game of ball of which a poetical account is given in the *Dasakumaracharita* (VI; see also *Svapnavasavadatta,* 2). Water games, and the swing (an old ritual theme of the Mahavrata, transformed into a literary image in the *Rigveda,* VII, 87, 5: "the sun, a golden swing") provide the poets of gallantry with decorative elements.

Students of the Veda have assumed that there were horse and chariot races, of which indeed a symbolic form is enshrined in the Vajapeya rite. A number of Vedic images are explained by reference to these sports. Animal fights (cocks, rams) are referred to here and there in the Brahmanical sources. Fencing and boxing are mentioned in the Jatakas, where we find many allusions to the arts of the circus, tight-rope walkers, acrobats, sword-swallowers and snake-charmers. The rope-trick (see Sankara on the *Mandukya Upanishad,* I, 7) may have ancient antecedents. The *Ratnavali,* 70, shows us a magician-conjuror, with his peacock feathers as insignia. The *Dasakumaracharita,* the *Tales of the Vampire,* and later the *Kathakosha* are full of passages in which trickery and magic are combined with the authentic feats of the *yogin.*

Among familiar amusements, we have the taming of certain animals, in particular the monkey (*Malavikagnimitra,* V; *Ratnavali,* II), the *kokila* (*koel,* Indian cuckoo), and the parrot and *maina* together (*karpuramanjari,* I, 18-19 and passim). A parrot plays some part in the *Kadambari.* Some texts limit themselves to naming a series of games, such as the *Dighanikaya* (I, 1, 14) and similar texts, the *Kadambari* (p. 60) and the *Kamasutra* (I, 3: III, 3). Others describe them in some detail: thus the *Manasollasa,* which deals with games of skill or strength, and of buflalo and elephant fights (some others are

mentioned by Aelian); the same text, again, speaks of a game which resembles polo, and mentions the use of carrier pigeons.

HUNTING

§ 105. The chase merits separate consideration. If it is mentioned so frequently in the literature, that is mainly because of the joy it brings (*Dasakumaracharita*, VII; *Sakuntala*, II, 5, "it is the archer's greatest triumph to hit with his arrows a moving target"); and also because it was a sport of princes: "the chase captivates (kings) like an expert at the art of love" (*Raghuvamsa*, IX, 69.) On the other hand moralising texts cite it as one of the major vices of kings, with dice, women and drink (Kautilya, VIII, 3; *Kamandaki Nitisastra*, XV), and recall the dramatic story of Dasaratha, who by accident killed a young ascetic (*Ramayana*, II, 63; *Raghuvamsa*, IX).

Megasthenes, whom Kautilya corroborates on several points, describes the royal hunt, with the roads kept clear (by stretched cords), the retinue and musicians guarded by armed women, the king on his caparisoned elephant. Similar scenes are described by Ctesias and Aelian, who mention hare hunting and fox hunting. The *Manasollasa* knows of thirty-one ways of hunting various animals, and discusses twenty-one of them, among which are hunting with the aid of the falcon, and with certain animals, including the leopard.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

§ 106. *Dress.* We shall not attempt to describe dress and ornaments in detail; embellished by literary convention, the subject could be dealt with adequately only by the help of the particulars, often fallacious, provided by the abundant iconographic literature, to which must be added, for later periods, documents which are themselves illustrated, and also coins. The Greeks testify to the use of ornaments, of richly decorated clothing (mentioned already by Herodotus), the wearing of dyed beards, and white leather shoes with high striped soles (Arrian). The Vedic texts allow us to infer that there were two main garments, a mantle, and a nether garment called *nivi*, and a kind of turban. The two-piece costume was also that of classical India: the *uttariya* for the upper part of the body—sometimes a rather long tunic, sometimes a sort of veil (for women) which also covered the head—and for the lower part of the body, the *paridhana* (modern dhoti), sometimes replaced by drawers. The basic pattern was simple, but permitted of a great variety of materials and of decorative elements. We can be certain, from a passage in *Sakuntala* (V, 13 and 18-19),

that married women (of the upper classes only?) wore the veil; the *Mrichchhakatika* (IV, 24) speaks of the "veil which is the mark of a married woman". Several allusions in the epics can be interpreted in the same sense.

As to the fashions of different regions, we have no more than the brief indications, subject to poetical modification, in the *Kavyamimamsa* (III), which outlines a map of India in four zones. The *Manasollasa* (II, p. 90) sketches the changes of clothing according to the seasons: silk or cotton materials in the spring, white materials (possibly of light wool) in the summer, red in the rains, dyes of carthamus or lac in the autumn, and woollen clothes in winter. For Vaisyas, an under-garment of skin and outer garments of linen are recommended; for Kshatriyas a dress in two pieces, the mantle being dyed with madder.

Lyrical poetry gives much attention to personal adornment, especially of women. For example, the toilet of Uma for her marriage (*Kumarasambhava,* VII, 14) included a net over the hair (which had first been washed and dried with a warm aromatic vapour), with garlands of flowers of the white *madhuka* and *durva* grass; annointing with aloe paste, an ornamental design being traced on the body with *gorochana* (a yellow pigment); a shoot of barley placed near the ear; a paint of lodhra powder on the cheek; red wax on the lower lip, lac on the feet, collyrium on the eyes; and finally the *tilaka* traced with white orpiment and red arsenic. The use of the *tilaka,* a beauty-spot on the forehead (serving also as a mark of sectarian attachment), is known as early as the *Mahabharata* (III, 158, 68, Bombay edn.). In Amaru 88 (71) the lover retains on his body traces of a new love affair: "the mark of lac on the forehead . . . . on his mouth the black stain of collyrium, on his eyes the redness of betel."

Scenes such as those in which Kalidasa describes the behaviour of the coquettes of the town during the marriage of Indumati (*Raghuvamsa,* VII) or of Parvati (*Kumarasambhava,* VII) abound in details which are exaggerated in an amusing way in the *Naishadhacharita* (XV), a kind of lyrical treatise on the toilet. There are also special manuals on ornaments and on perfumes. Even men did not disdain the use of paint and unguents (cf. *Chullavagga,* V, 2). The shapes of leaves on the face or body, drawn in sandal, musk, or other odorous substances, were among the adornments of beauty. Sandal, in particular, was used in an infinity of ways. It is possible that tattooing was used, but allusions like that in the *Raghuvamsa*

(VI, 18): "the hand of the prince reddened with the lines of a banner," are evidently not enough to prove it.

No ornament provided women with wider possibilities than the flower, as a verse of the *Meghaduta,* (65), indicates: "in this town of Alaka, the women play with the lotus which they hold in their hand, their hair is dotted with jasmin buds, the pollen of the *rodhra* colours their face, they wear fresh *amaranth* (*kuruvaka*) in the knot of their hair, the graceful acacia (*shirisha*) at the ear, and flowering *kadamba* on the parting of the hair."

POLITE SEX RELATIONS

§ 107. These facts bring us back again to the subject of polite sex relations, which with their codified precepts were such an important literary theme. The "man of the town," as he is presented in the Kamasastra or the *Nagarasarvasva,* is a rich pleasure-seeker, commending himself to Muladeva (a kind of Don Juan, at the same time magician and patron of thieves, a typical figure of picaresque folklore). A set of amorous tactics are elaborated for his benefit, modelled on those of war, with approaches, sieges, deceptions and final assault. He has as his principal confidant the *vita* (see § 93), and as his partner the *abhisarika,* the lady "who comes to the rendezvous"—often in a smart carriage or carried in a palanquin—after appointing the time and place through the *duti* or "female messenger" (Buddhist nuns often appear to have played this part). Erotics took over the language of heroic deeds and of postures (the *mudras,* the origin of which is magico-religious), the science of signs, those for example which were engraved by the finger on the lotus-leaf or on birchbark (*Sakuntala,* III, 24; *Vikramorvasi,* II, 19-20; *Kadambari,* p. 56).

Not only the flowers and plants but the trees participate their own way in the atmosphere of eroticism: they have their *dohada,* "desires of pregnant women": "the springtime comes, when the *kuruvakas* flower through having been embraced by young woman's foot, when the *bakulas* blossom watered by wine from the mouths of girls with the eyes of deer, when the *champaka* flowers open sprinkled with scented water" (*Parsvanathacharita,* 796 et seq).

VILLAGE CUSTOMS

§ 108. *Village customs.* Country life provides the background, *mutatis mutandis,* of similar scenes. Such are the pastoral verse of Hala, and, in a mystical version, of the *Gitagovinda,* the *Bhagavat Purana* and the *Harivamsa,* which

relate in inexhaustible detail the frolics of Krishna and the milkmaids. Despite some realistic touches, these works as a whole are subject to the convention natural in the treatment of so traditional a theme. Such passages as this may be excepted: "The pots of milk, ceaselessly beaten by the turning of the churns in the dairies, resound like muffled thunder" (*Kiratarjuniya,* IV, 16), or again: "the rice in great clusters, yellowed by the ripening of the grains, lean over as if to kiss the lotus flower blooming on the well-watered field and releasing its scent" (ibid, 26). Hala shows us the ploughman tired with guiding the plough which he forces into the damp soil (327), the rice-field, a pool of mud, into which a man plunges up to the knees (568), the mountain villages with their thick leafy hedges (637), the dried mud on both sides of the street in the market-town (684), the field of sesame, white with frost (695), or eaten away by the teeth of the rats (769). Already in the *Rigveda* the movement of the pestle in the mortar was associated with erotic ideas. The village, in literature, is little more than a background to war or love.

The *Harshacharita* (VII, p. 209) shows us the clouds of dust raised by the groups of foddar cutters, the bundles of grass tied on their backs, all grey with husks, the sickles hanging from their belts, their dirty cloaks made of scraps of wool, shivering in their ragged tunics. They asked the military authorities protection for their fields, giving as gifts curdled milk, molasses, sugar, and baskets of flowers.

We should like to be able to contrast to the artificial life of luxury, the humble life of the worker. It is impossible to do so, despite the exaltation of poverty and simplicity of manners in the declarations of the sententious poets. But we have plenty of material on the mode of life of the Buddhist monk, his furniture, cell, and food ; the "tanned" yellow or red robe (according to sect or region?) of the Buddhist, and the garment of bark and the deer skin of the Brahman ascetics.

FOOD

§109. *Food.* Food is the subject of a special chapter in the *Manasollasa* (II, p. 115), which distinguishes vegetarian and non-vegetarian diets, gives local and seasonal recipes, and describes a king's banquet. This begins with rice flavoured with the juice of *mudga* (phaseolus mungo) and heated butter (*ghrita*), followed by a sweet dish made of milk, sugar and butter, then sweet and acid fruit with *sikharini* and curds, and finally salt rice and whey. The accounts of this subject in

the epics (thus *Ramayana,* II, 91) are not free from conventionalisation.

There was a *Supasastra,* or treatise on the culinary art, of which some fragments must be preserved in the medical texts and even in poetry. Special limitations were placed on the diet of Buddhist monks (many are mentioned in the *Pratimoksha,* and some were discussed at the Council at Vaisali); others of the same type applied to *brahmacharins* and Brahman ascetics. A characteristic prohibition in Manu (V, 5) concerns "garlic, leeks, onions, mushrooms, and all plants born of impure things". But the essential restriction applied to meat. An absolute prohibition on meat eating was part of the doctrine of certain sects, especially among the Vishnuites, while some Tantric rituals glorified meat-eating for the initiated. Kautilya contents himself with giving a list of animals which are not to be killed (see §85), and the Smriti regards as edible the percupine, the hedgehog, the iguana, the rhinoceros, the tortoise, and the hare, as well as those domestic animals which have teeth in one jaw only (except the camel.). Manu (V, 18) gives the same list.

In the Vedic period meat was prepared for the guest whom one received, who was designated, indeed, "he in whose honour the ox is killed"; although the cow was called "that which must not be killed", and although a passage in the *Atharvaveda* forbids killing it. The prohibition must have become rigorous in the epic period, with the crystallisation of the idea of *ahimsa,* "non-violence", under the influence of the Buddhist and Jain sects. Asoka prohibited both the ritual slaughter of animals (an invariable feature of the Vedic ceremonies) and slaughter of animals for the imperial kitchens, which, it is true, was of an extravagant nature. The Greeks testify that the Indians usually abstained from meat (Herodotus), and that they were rice-eaters (Megasthenes). The medical manuals lay down diets, and attach marked importance to food.

The staple food was rice. In Kautilya's opinion (II, 15), the needs of an Arya were, at each meal, a *prastha* (2/3 pint?) of clean and undecorticated (unbroken?) rice, 1/4 *prastha* of dal (*supa*), a quantity of salt equal to 1/16 of the dal, and oil or butter 1/4 of the volume of the dal. In the *Kathasaritsagara* (LIV) a man eats barley flour with ½ *pala* of melted butter, a little rice, and some meat or curry. The use of betel is post-epic, and undoubtedly comes from the South; the *Parasara Smriti* (I, 50) says that students should avoid it.

An instructive passage in the *Dasakumaracharita* (VI)

shows us the manner of preparing rice. The ears are threshed, the grains are dried in the sun, those which have not come out of the husk are extracted with a hollow stick; they are then pounded in a wooden mortar, separated from the husk with a fan, rinsed, and put into boiled water (five times as much as the grain); finally the scum is removed, it is stirred, and served with curds and the three condiments which have been prepared ready, cinnamon, cardamum, and aromatic cassia. The meal concludes with buttermilk and sour gruel.

The remnants (*uchchhista*), the object of an old religions prohibition, are not preverved.

DRINK

§ 110. *Drink.* Drink was also subject to prohibitions, in part of religious origin. *Sura,* a kind of brandy used in certain esoteric sacrifices, was prohibited for secular purposes, and its consumption was put on the same level as killing a cow. It does not follow from this that spirituous liquors (*madya*) in general were prohibited, still less that they were not used. The texts distinguish three kinds of *sura,* one distilled from molasses, another from rice, and the third from honey (?); and only the first was forbidden to Aryas. The *Vishnu Smriti* (XXII, 83) knows ten kinds of *madya.* Megasthenes says that the Indians drank brandy only in the course of religious ceremonies, and that they made it from rice instead of barley. It is possible that the Smriti gave rise to a relative tolerance. Fa-hien mentions that the Indians did not drink any alcohol; Hiuan-tsang distinguishes between wines made from grapes or sugarcane, drunk by Kshatriyas, a strong liquor drunk by Vaishyas, and a syrup used by Brahmans as well as Buddhist monks. The Buddha permitted eight kinds of drink and the juice of all plants and fruits, except palm wine and arrack (*Mahavagga,* VI, 35, 6).

As for *soma,* the ancient sacrificial liquor with the quality of producing exaltation rather than intoxication, Kautilya still makes provision for a gift by the king of land for a plantation of *soma.*

In the poems and stories, scenes of drunkenness are quite common; taverns and drinking places for people of various categories, and even for women, are not unknown. One of the functions of the superintendent of liquor in Kautilya (II, 25) was to establish liquor shops containing several rooms, beds, and seats set well apart, and provided with scents, garlands, and all the commodities required by the season.

EDUCATION

§ 111. *Education.* Culture was highly esteemed. "The ignorant man is a child," says Manu (II, 153). The young Arya was first given, at home or at school, an elementary education, based on the letters and ciphering (cf. the *aksharika* of the Buddhist sources). Education proper began with the entry into *brahmacharya,* the "career of the Brahman", the date of which varied with caste: for the Brahman the proper age was eight years. This stage, which began with a solemn initiation and closed with a bath, as for the conclusion of the great rituals (the student then became "the bathed", and was allowed to enter domestic life) consisted essentially in apprenticeship to the religious texts and the treatises which are their natural complement, in other words the Veda and the Vedangas (phonetics, poetics, grammar, etymology, astronomy, ritual). But it included also participation in material services, preparation of the fire, begging alms, looking after the cattle (see the vivid scenes at the beginning of the prose section of the *Mahabharata,* I, 3.) It It included also moral obligations and hygienic and ritualistic practices. It was an all-round education, which brought into play all the resources of the individual.

The sacred texts were taught according to minutely detailed rules of recitation, in which each word was taken independently, then in relation to the word preceding, and finally reversed, and each part of the text was revised before the next was begun. We are given a summary idea of this technique of memorising by a chapter of the *Rikpratisakhya* (XV), which allows us to be present at a Vedic lesson. The memory was reinforced by the help of gestures performed to mark the accents, and by certain rhythmical procedures. I-tsing says that the Veda was learnt by heart, without the help of writing, and the existence of writing at an early period is rendered unlikely by certain Greek evidence. However, we cannot deny the possibility that from the period of the Brahmanas the recitation of religious texts was accompanied by the use of manuscripts as an accessory. Indeed the organisation of the Vedic canon is hardly conceivable without the help of writing.

It is true that the Sanskrit texts themselves make no mention of writing (*lipi*) until the period, itself of uncertain date, of the *Arthasastra* and the first Smritis. The Buddhist sources know it, though they do not mention the practices of copying and reading "books". The term *yavanani* in Panini refers to

Greek writing, according to the interpretation given to the word by a later grammarian, Katyayana. The earliest datable inscriptions are those of Asoka, and additionally the Piprahva vase and the copper plate of Sohgaura.

The writer's instruments were the style, the pencil, the brush, the calamus, and the wooden pen ; ink, alluded to by Strabo, is apparently testified to as early as the second century, B.C., but it had close competitors in chalk, red ore, and red lead (*hingula*). Materials used for writing on were numerous, without mentioning metal (usually copper) and stone for epigraphic purposes: birch-bark (in various forms ; mentioned by Quintus Curtius), the inner bark of agallochum (Aquilaria), linen and cotton materials (cf. Nearchus, quoted by Strabo), sheets of wood, and palm leaves (mentioned by Hiuan-tsang, but probably used as early as the 1st century, A.D.). The writer was called *lipikara* or *libikara*, and then (7th century) *divirapati*, at least for official documents ; the term *kayastha*, known as a caste name at least since the 8th century, also comes from the 11th century to designate a type of official scribe.

PERIOD OF EDUCATION

§ 112. To return to education: it lasted for five and a half to six and a half months, and instruction was given every day, except interruptions for feasts or accidental causes. The total period was at least twelve years. We have no indication of examinations during the course or at its end, or of diplomas. Education was free, but it was customary at the end of one's studies to make a gift, *gurvartha*, which might be of considerable value. The usual number of pupils was about fifteen. Girls were allowed to receive certain forms of instruction, but the Veda was denied to them, as also to the Sudras, to whom women are sometimes equated. In all respects emphasis was given to the importance of the master, the *acharya* or *guru ;* this last term also having religious overtones and more usually deignating the "spiritual guide".

Those who wished to master thoroughly one or other branch of knowledge, secular or sacred, who wished, for example, to become *srotriya,* men "learned in the revealed texts", prolonged their studies indefinitely. In this way men made themselves specialists in grammar, or logic, or mimamsa. The knowledge of certain of these masters might become the object of general admiration, carrying their name far beyond the limits of their region: a simple *pandita* of a village might be a storehouse of knowledge accumulated by memory, and even if not fully assimilated, not the less admirable for its extent.

Even men who were not destined for a career of learning acquired an extensive theoretical education. The affinity among the various methods of education led men to learning more than their proposed occupation seemed at first to require. Thus the knowledge demanded of the actor, the architect, and the medical man was very wide. As for the king, there was evidently an element of flattery in the statements of the sciences he was required to learn. According to the Smriti, the king had to know the Veda, law, logic, and philosophy; Sudraka, in the prologue to the *Mrichchhakatika*, compliments himself on having learnt, in addition to two Vedas. mathematics, the art of love, and the science of elephants. The disproportion is clearly seen in the *Kadambari* (p. 60) (prince Chandrapida) and in the lives of the Buddha and the Jina.

Corresponding to the compartmentalised society which the literature shows us, it is a specialised education which it supports. Apart from the education of the prince, there are those of the theologian (on which the Upanishads have interesting information), of the warrior (the epics, etc.), the clerical employee (Kautilya), of the artisan (the *Narada Smriti*), the courtesan (the Kamamanjari in the *Dasakumaracharita*, or the *Samayamatrika*), and of women in general (the *Kamasutra*). We have the precepts which the master delivered to the pupil at the end of the period of *brahmacharya* (*Taittiriya* I, 11), and a quite impressive sermon addressed to future medical men (*Charakasamhita*, III, 8). We see here the great part which moral ideas played in ancient education.

SEATS OF LEARNING

§ 113. Among the traditional seats of learning were the *mathas*, religious colleges attached to a temple. The word is ancient (*Amarakosha*), but the institution undoubtedly arose in the South, about the 7th or 8th century (we have references to dining-halls and lodgings for students), and seems to have received its principal impetus from Sankara.

Earlier than this there were *ashramas* or "hermitages" [strictly "(places of ascetic) exercises"]; they were situated in general away from towns, and often in the heart of the forest; the "forest books" from which the Upanishads developed had their origin in these isolated colonies. They were not merely enchanting sanctuaries of peace and renunciation, as the poets delighted to describe them (*Sakuntala*, VII, 12; *Raghuvamsa*, XIV, 75, et seq.), following the tradition of the epics. They were places of work. A passage in the *Mahabharata* (I, 64,

the visit of Dushyanta to Kanva's *ashrama*) shows the compass of the extension of the method of education to practical subjects. The *ashrama* expanded in the Buddhist period, when it was opened to all those who had passed a preliminary test.

The Vedic schools, groups of specialists dedicated to preserving a certain version of the texts, and the schools of the laws, the *parishads* or colleges of Brahmans serving as experts and arbitrators, were other institutions which may have contributed towards the formation of the "universities". We can regard as universities, in the mediaeval sense of the word, certain semi-monastic institutions of the Buddhist period, such as that at Nalanda, near Rajagriha, reputedly founded by Asoka. With its six colleges, its numerous students (between 3,000 and 5,000), its 300 rooms and eight great halls, it must have been an establishment of consequence. Admitted as the result of an examination conducted by the "pandit-usher", the student learnt principally dogmatic controversy. Nagarjuna, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Dharmapala and other great names are said to have taught there. Students came, we are told, from all countries. There were *charaka,* or wandering students.

As for the famous Takshasila (Texila) in Gandhara, the evidence of the Jatakas, although supported by the epics (and even, on the Greek side, by Apollonius of Tyana), does not suffice to rescue it entirely from the category of the legendary. It disappeared under or after the Kushanas. It taught, we are told, the eighteen sciences (a conventional number), and in particular medicine. Panini is said to have been a student there, as also Kautilya (?).

Under the Guptas other centres of culture were Ujjayini, Banaras (Kasi), Valabhi in Kathiyavar, and Amaravati in the South. An institution of a somewhat more modern type was Vikramasila in Bihar, founded in the 11th century. Most of these bodies received grants from kings.

BRIEF CHRONOLOGY

3102 B.C. Traditional date of the *Kaliyuga*.	
2500-2000 B.C. Indus Civilisation (Mohan-jo Daro and Harappa).	
2000-1600 B.C.	Rigveda.
1500 B.C. (Bharata War according to some Puranas).	
1400 B.C. Parikshit.	Atharvaveda.
1300 B.C. Yajnavalkya.	White Yajurveda.
1000-800 B.C.	Satapatha Brahmana, Brihadaranyaka Upanishad.
800-400 B.C.	Principal Upanishads, Principal Vedic Sutras.
558 B.C. Birth of the Buddha.	
540 B.C. Birth of the Jina (Mahavira).	
518 B.C. Conquest of the Indus basin by Darius I.	
486 B.C. Ajatasatru of Magadha.	
478 B.C. Death (Nirvana) of the Buddha (543 according to the Ceylon tradition).	
468 B.C. Death of the Jina (527 according to tradition).	
5th-4th century B.C.	Panini's Grammar.
4th century B.C.	Beginning of the arrangement of the Mahabharata.
327 B.C. Alexander's invasion.	
322 B.C. Chandragupta of the Maurya dynasty.	
300 B.C. Embassy of Megasthenes.	Nucleus of the Kautiliya.
3rd century B.C.	Beginning of the arrangement of the Ramayana.
264 B.C. Accession of Asoka.	
250 B.C. Conversion of Asoka.	
226 B.C. Death of Asoka.	
2nd century B.C.	Establishment of the Pali canon.
189 B.C. Demetrios' invasion.	

176 B.C. Advent of the Sunga dynasty.	
168 B.C. Menander (Milinda) in the Panjab.	
1st century B.C.	Mahabhashya, Laws of Manu.
90 B.C. Invasion by the Saka.	
70 B.C. Advent of the Andhra (bhritya) (Satavahana, Satakarni).	
58 B.C. Vikrama era.	
30 B.C. End of Sunga-Kanva, beginning of Kushana.	
1st century, A.D.	Establishment of the Jatakas. Beginning of formulation of the philosophical sutras.
78 A.D. Saka era (Salivahana).	
2nd century A.D.	Natyasastra, Yajnavalkya Smriti, Brihaspati Smriti.
130 A.D. Chastana and Rudradaman I (*mahakshatrapa*) at Ujjayini.	
144 A.D. Kanishka; Kanishka era.	Asvaghosa, Hala.
3rd century A.D.	Vishnu Smriti.
245 A.D. Invasion by Shahpur I; death of Vasudeva, last of the great Kushanas.	
4th century A.D.	Narada Smriti, beginning of establishment of the principal Puranas.
320 A.D. Chandragupta I; Gupta era.	Kamasutra.
335 A.D. Samudragupta; beginning of the Pallava.	Mrichchhakatika.
375 A.D. Chandragupta II (Vikramaditya).	Kalidasa, Amarasimha.
388 A.D. End of the Sakaa in India.	
405-411 A.D. Travels of Fa-hien.	
414 A.D. Kumaragupta I.	

450 A.D. Invasion of Gandhara by Hephtalites (Huns); beginning of Kadamba.	
455 A.D. Skandagupta.	
484 A.D. Budhagupta.	
485 A.D. Invasion of Malava by Toramana.	
490 A.D. Kingdom of Valabhi.	
500 A.D. Beginning of the earlier or western Chalukyas.	Brihatsamhita.
510 A.D. Dismemberment of the Gupta Empire.	Bharavi.
533 A.D. Yasodharman; victory over the Hun chief, Mihirakula.	
550 A.D. End of the Huna power; Pulakesin I at Vatapi.	
580 A.D. Beginning of the Vakataka.	
605 A.D. Harshavardhana (Siladitya); Harsha era.	Harsha's comedies.
609 A.D. Pulakesin II.	Magha.
625 A.D. Beginning of the Pallava.	Bana.
630-644 A.D. Travels of Hiuan-tsang.	
642 A.D. Death of Pulakesin II; Narasimhavarman I; height of power of the Pallava.	Bhartrihari.
647 A.D. Death of Harshavardhana.	
675-685 A.D. I-tsing's stay at Nalanda.	Dandin.
711 A.D. Invasion of Sind by the Muslims.	
8th century, first half.	Bhavabhuti.
753 A.D. Advent of the Rastrakutas.	
760 A.D. Beginning of the Palas of Bengal.	Kumarila.

8th century, A.D. second half.	Sankara.
836 A.D. Bhoja I, king of Kanauj.	
871 A.D. Beginning of the Cholas.	
880 A.D. Beginning of the Kalachuri (Haihaya).	Rajashekhara.
892 A.D. Beginning of the eastern Chalukyas (Bhima I).	
962 A.D. Kingdom of Ghazni.	
973 A.D. Beginning of the Chalukyas of Kalyani.	
11th century A.D.	Kathasaritsagara, Ramanuja, Kshemendra.
12th century A.D.	Hemachandra, Rajatarangini, Gitagovinda. (The dates of literary works, with three or four exceptions, are hypothetical).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

§ 1. *General Works.* Books treating of the civilisation in a manner more or less independent of political history or of literature are the following: S. V. Venkateswara: *Indian Culture Through the Ages,* London, 2 vols, 1928-32. H. Goetz: *Epochen der indischen Kultur,* Leipzig, 1929 (open to criticism). Ch. Chakravarty: *The Cultural History of the Hindus,* Calcutta, 1946. R. K. Mookerji: *Hindu Civilisation up to Mauryan Empire,* London, 1936. The collective work *The Cultural Heritage of India,* Calcutta, 3 vols., 1937, is hardly more than a set of essays (new edition in preparation, much revised).

Mainly literary are: N. N. Ghose: *Indo-Aryan Literature and Culture,* Calcutta, 1934. R. W. Frazer: *A Literary History of India,* London, 1898 (out of date). Short books are: G. Courtillier: *Les anciennes civilisations de l'Inde,* Paris, 1930 (up to the 7th century). S. Levi: *L'Inde civilisatrice,* Paris, 1938 (do. primarily historical). H. G. Rawlinson: *India, a Short Cultural History* (London, 1937 ; and the collective work, *Das Licht des Ostens,* Berlin-Leipzig, n.d. (about 1925, J. Jolly and others). Another collective work, *The Legacy of India,* ed. G. T. Garratt, London, 1937 (parts excellent). The work of S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India,* Poona, 2 vols., 1911, 2nd ed. 1941, is concerned mainly with the South, and not much with social affairs. Good on dharma, and some technical matters is L.D. Barnett: *Antiquities of India,* London, 1913. Partial and personal is D. R. Bhandarkar : *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture, Madras,* 1940. Partial also, but important, is N. N. Law: *Studies in Indian History and Culture,* London, 1925. Personal also, but more general, are B. K. Sarkar: *Introduction to Hindu Positivism,* Calcutta, 1937 ; *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology,* Allahabad, 2 vols., 1921-26, 2nd ed. 1937 ; *Creative India from Mohenjo-Daro to Vivekananda,* Lahore, 1936. R. C. Majumdar: *Outline of Ancient Indian History and Civilisation,* Calcutta, 1927. A.D. Macdonell: *India's Past,* Oxford, 1927 (2nd ed.). P. H. Valavalkar: *Hindu Social Institutions,* London-Bombay, 1939, Baroda, 1942. Batakrishna Ghosh: *The Hindu Ideal of Life,* Calcutta, 1947 (based mainly on the Smriti). An article by F. Edgerton: "Dominant Ideas in the Formation of Indian Culture", *J. Am. Or. Soc.,* LXII (1942).

Social and cultural facts are dealt with in the following historical works: P. Masson-Oursel: *Ancient India and Indian Civilisation,* London, 1934 (concise). L. de la Vallee

§ 4. *The State.* Some useful books, based primarily on Kautilya, (see also 8 d) are these: U. N. Ghosal: *A History of Hindu Political Theories,* Oxford, 1923, 2nd ed. 1927 (noteworthy); N. N. Law: *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity,* London, 1914; *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity,* Oxford, 1921; N. C. Bandyopadhyaya, *Development of Hindu Polity and Political Theories,* Calcutta, 2 vols, 1927-39; B. K. Sarkar: *The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus,* Leipzig, 1922 (daring); A. Hillebrandt: *Altindische Politik,* Jena, 1923 (sagacious); K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar: *Ancient Indian Polity,* Madras, 1914, 2nd ed. 1934; *Indian Cameralism,* Adyar, 1949 (suggestive); K. P. Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity,* Calcutta, 1924; A. S. Altekar: *State and Government in Ancient India,* Benaras, 1949; Beni Prasad: *The State in Ancient India,* Allahabad, 1927. Brilliant sketches, based on the Smriti, in K. V. R. Aiyangar: *Raja Dharma,* Adyar, 1941. Out of date is R. Shamasastry: *Evolution of Indian Polity,* Calcutta, 1920.

Monographs or articles: O. Stein: "Der altindische Staat", *Arch. Or.* III, 1931; J. J. Anjaria: *The Nature and Grounds of Political Obligations in the Hindu State,* London-Bombay, 1935; H. N. Sinha: *Sovereignty in Ancient Indian Polity,* London-Calcutta, 1938; B. Breloer: "Megasthenes uber die indische Stadtverwaltung," *Z. D. Morg. Ges.* LXXXIX, 1931; U. N. Ghoshal: "On some Points Relating to the Maurya Administrative System", *Ind. Hist.,* Q. VI, 1930; "Administrative Terms in Ancient India", *Krishnaswami Aiyangar Volume,* 1936; "The Samgha-Gana in Post-Vedic Period", *Ind. Cult.,* XII, 1945; "Hindu Theories of Social Contract", *Ind. Hist. Q.,* XXIV, 1948; "The King's Executive Administration in the Dharmasutras", ibid. XXI, 1945; P. N. Banerji: *Public Administration in Ancien India,* Calcutta, 1916; V. R. R. Dikshitar: *Hindu Administrative Institutions,* Madras, 1929; R. K. Mookerji: *Local Government in Ancient India,* Oxford, 1920; N. N. Law: "The Determination of the Relative Strength of a State and the Vyasanas", *Ind. Hist. Q.,* VI, 1930; B. Bhattacharya: "Ministers in Ancient India", *New Ind. Ant.* II, 1939; A. S. Altekar: *History of Village Communities in Western India,* Oxford, 1929; A. K. Coomaraswamy: *Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power in the Indian Theory of Government,* New Haven, Conn., 1942 (fantastic).

On financial and fiscal questions: U. N. Ghosal: *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System,* Calcutta, 1929 (important); *The Agrarian System in Ancient India,*

Calcutta, 1930 (important); "On Some Fiscal Terms Occurring in the Ancient Indian Land-Grants", *Ind. Hist. Q., V,* 1929: Atindra N. Bose: "Indo-Aryan Land Revenue System", *J. Bombay R.A.S.,* 1939.

§5. *Foreign Policy (War).* N. N. Law: *Inter-State Relations in Ancient India,* I, Calcutta, 1920; U. N. Ghoshal: "The System of Inter-State Relations", *Vogel Volume,* 1947; P. N. Banerjee: International Law and Custom in Ancient India", *J. Dep. Letters,* I, 1920; Kalidas Nag: "The Diplomatic Theories of Ancient India and the Arthasastra", *J. Ind. Hist,* 1926.

On war: V. R. R. Dikshitar: *War in Ancient India,* Madras, 1944, 2nd ed. 1948 (many facts, but naive); "The Art of War as Practised in South India", *Annals Bhand. Inst.,* VI, 1927; G. T. Date: *The Art of War in Ancient India,* London, 1929; H. Losch: *Altindisches Heer-und Kriegswesen,* Deutschlands Erneuerung. 1941; P. C. Chakravarti: "Naval Warfare in Ancient India", *Ind. Hist. Q., VI,* 1930; *Art of War,* Dacca, 1941.

§6. *Economic Life.* General works or articles: R. Fick: *The Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time,* Calcutta, 1920; K. V. R. Aiyangar: *Ancient Indian Economic Thought,* Benares, 1935; N. C. Bandyopadhyaya: *Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India,* I (Hindu Period, to the Mauryas) Calcutta, 1925, 2nd ed. 1945; A. N. Banerji: "Studies in Economics of Ancient India", *Annals Bhand. Inst.,* X, 1929; S. K. Das: *The Economic History of Ancient India,* Calcutta, 1925; P. C. Basu: "Economic Life in Ancient India", *Ind. Hist. Q.,* I, 1925; Pran Nath Vidayalankar: *A. Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India,* London, 1929; J. N. Samaddar: *Lectures on the Economic Conditions of Ancient India,* Calcutta, 1922; N. S. Subba Rao: *Economic and Political Conditions in Ancient India,* Mysore, 1911; Atindra, N. Bose: *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India,* Calcutta, 1941; A. Apppadorai: *Economic Conditions in Southern India,* Madras, 2 vols., 1936. See also the studies referring to the Buddhist sources, under § 8 below.

Monographs. R. C. Majumdar: *Corporate Life in Ancient India,* Calcutta, 1918, Poona, 1922 (useful); L. Sternbach: "Vesya, Synonyms and Aphorisms", *Bhar. Vidya,* IV, 1944, V 1945, VIII 1947; M. Banerjee: "On Metals and Metallurgy in Ancient India", *Ind. Hist. Q.* III, 1927 (in the Veda); P. C. Ray: *A History of Hindu Chemistry from the Earliest Times,* Calcutta, 2 vols., 1900-09, 1903-25; S. K. Roy, "Mineralogy and Mining in Ancient India", *J. Bih. Or. Soc.,*

Poussin: *L'Inde jusque vers 300 avant J.-C.*, Paris, 1924 (supplement, 1936); *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas* (etc.), 1930; *Dynasties et histoire de l'Inde depuis Kanishka* (etc.), 1935 (valuable, but unequal). Substantial, but reaching only the epic period, is Vol. I of the Cambridge Ancient History of India under the direction of E. J. Rapson: *Ancient India, Cambridge,* 1922 (Vol. II in preparation). Full up to and including the Gupta period, is H. C. Raychaudhuri: *Political History of Ancient India,* Calcutta, 1923 (5th ed. in press). Shorter, by the same author, with collaborators: *An Advanced History of India,* London, 1946, and *Studies in Indian Antiquities,* Calcutta, 1932. Daring is K. P. Jayaswal: *History of India, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.,* Lahore, 1933. E. Waldschmidt: *Geschichte der indischen Altertums,* 1950 (Bruckmans Weltgeschichte) (excellent).

Finally, P. V. Kane: *History of Dharmasastra,* Poona, 3 vols. in 4 tomes (Vol. 4 in preparation) makes an almost exhaustive collection of the facts concerning Smriti, Artha and ritual.

Still useful are a number of articles in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (see Index, subjects under India, especially Caste). We should not forget the great pioneer work of C. Lassen (1847-1861-1873).

§ 2. *Caste.* The majority of the studies on this subject (which are very numerous) treat only incidentally of ancient times. Worth consulting are the very systematic works of A. M. Hocart: *Caste,* London, 1950, and especially E. Senart: *Caste in India* (London, 1930); also N. K. Dutt: *Origin and Growth of Caste in India,* I, Calcutta, 1931, and (noteworthy) J. H. Hutton: *Caste in India,* Cambridge, 1946, Bombay 1952.

On caste in ancient India, see Kane, Sec. 1; R. Fick: *The Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time,* Calcutta, 1920; E. W. Hopkins: "The Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India," *J. Am. Or. Soc.,* XIII, 1889; A. A. Macdonell: "The Early History of Caste", *Amer. Hist. Rev.,* XIX, 1914; J. Jolly: "Die Entstehung des Kastenwesens", *Z. D. Morg. Ges., L,* 1896; H. Oldenburg: "Zur Geschiche des indischen Kastenwesens", ibid., LI, 1897.

More general are A. Geiger: *Die indoarische Gesellschaftsordnung,* Tubingen, 1935 (speculative); G. H. Mees: *Dharma and Society,* London, 1936; and monographs: B. Breloer: "Megasthenes uber die indische desellschaft", *Z. D. Morg. Ges.,*

LXXXVIII, 1930; R. Fick: "Die Mischkaste der Ugras", *Melanges Winternitz,* 1933.

§ 3. *Law.* Kane's *History of Dharmasastra* allows us to dispense with a long bibliography; several works are mentioned below, under §8 dgh. We should however mention J. Jolly's once authoritative and still important book: *Hindu Law and Custom,* Calcutta, 1928, and several monographs by him, especially the series "Beitrage zur indischen Rechtsgeschichte", *Z. D. Morg. Ges.* XLIV, 1890 et seq.

Later works are: Niranjan Roy: "The Ancient Hindu Law of Pledges and Bailments", *J. Dep. Letters,* XXXII, 1939; A. Thakur: "Documents in Ancient India," *Annals Bhand. Inst.,* IX, 1928; "Proof of Possession", ibid. XI, 1924; "An Enquiry about the Hindu Law of Evidence", *J. Dep. Letters,* XI, 1924; A. S. Altekar: "The Widow's Right of Inheritance", *J. Bih. Or. Soc.,* 1938; J. N. C. Ganguly: "Hindu Theories of Punishment", *Annals Bhand. Inst.,* VIII, 1926; K. M. Kapadia: *Hindu Kinship,* Bombay, 1947; I. Karve: "Kinship Terms and the Family Organisation as found in the . . . Mahabharata", *Sukthankar Volume* (*Bull. Deccan Coll. Inst.,* V, 1944); J. Brough: "The Early History of Gotras," *J. R. A. S.,* 1946 (noteworthy); R. Fick: "Die Gotras in den Pali-Texten", *Geiger Volume,* 1931; G. Banerjee: *The Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhana,* Calcutta, 1896. A number of studies by L. Sternbach, especially "Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law", *Poona Or.,* IX, 1944, X, 1945, *Annals Bhand. Inst.,* XXIV, 1943, et seq., *Bhar. Vidya,* VII, 1946: "Rakshasa and Paisacha Vivaha", *New Ind. Ant.,* VI, 1943; "Forms of Marriage", *Annals Bhand. Inst.,* XXII, 1941; "Legal Relations between Employers and Employees in Ancient India", *Poona Or.* VIII, 1943; "The Harmonising of Law with the Requirements of Economic Conditions", *Annals Bhand. Inst.,* XXIII, 1942; *Le droit de succession dans l'Inde ancienne, Cracow,* 1938 (according to Apastamba), and others. Out of date now is L. Feer: "Le marriage par achat dans l'Inde aryenne", *Journ. As.,* 1885.

More general are: C. Sankararama Sastri: *Fictions in the Development of the Hindu Law Texts,* Adyar, 1926; N. C. Gupta: "Evolution of Law", *J. Dep. Letters,* XIII, 1926 (speculative); M. Winternitz: *Die Frau in den indischen Religionen,* Leipzig, 1920; J. J. Meyer: *Trilogie altindischer Machte und Feste der Vegetation,* Zurich and Leipzig, 1937; W. Gampert: *Die Suhnezeremonien in der altindischen Rechtsliterature,* Prague, 1939 (important). See the old books on Indian law in general by G. Mazzarella, and B. W. Leist.

F. Rhys Davids: "Notes on Early Economic Conditions in Northern India", *J. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1901 (Jatakas): B. C. Law: "Social, Economic and Religious Conditions according to the Buddhist Texts", *Pathak Volume,* 1934; B. N. Puri: "Economic Life in the Kushana Period", *Ind. Cult.*, XII, 1946 (and other articles by the same author). A good monograph is: R. Lingat: "Vinaya et droit laique", *Bull. Ec. fr. Excr.-Or.*, XXXVII, 1937.

(c) Jainism. B. C. Law, op. cit. and: *Some Jaina Canonical Sutras,* Bombay, 1949; J. C. Jain: *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jain Canons,* Bombay, 1947 (rich in facts).

(d) The Epics. H. Oldenberg: *Das Mahabharata,* Gottingen, 1922 (concise); J. Dahlmann: *Das Mahabharata als epos und rechtsbuch,* Berlin, 1895 (see Barth, *Oeuvres,* IV) (too individual); N. C. Banerjee: "Politics and Political History in the Mahabharata", *Ind. Hist. Q.*, I, 1925; E. W. Hopkins: "The Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India", *J. Am. Or. Soc.* XIII, (important), S. Cramer: *Eene Oudindische Stad volgens het Epos,* Groningen, 1899; G. J. Held: *The Mahabharata, an Ethnological Study,* Amsterdam, 1935 (suggestive); J. J. Meyer: *Sexual Life in Ancient India;* I. Karve: "Kinship Terms and the Family Organisation as Found in the Mahabharata".

On the Ramayana in particular: P. C. Dharma: *The Ramayana Polity,* Madras, 1941 (a careful selection of material); "Customs and Beliefs from the Ramayana", *Poona Or.*, II, 1937; "Occupations and Professions as seen in the Ramayana", *Annals Bhand. Inst.*, XIX, 1935.

Asoka and the Mauryas in general: V. R. R. Dikshitar: *The Mauryan Polity,* Madras, 1932; D. R. Bhandarkar: *Asoka,* Calcutta, 1913, 2nd ed. 1932; V. A. Smith: *Asoka,* Oxford, 1902, 2nd ed. 1920; B. M. Barua: *Asoka and his Inscriptions,* Calcutta, 2 vols., 1946 (the fullest treatment); F. J. Monahan: *The Early History of Bengal,* Oxford, 1925 (Asoka compared to the *Arthasastra*).

(f) The Mahabhashya. P. C. Chakravarti: "The Mahabhasya", *Ind. Hist. Q.* I, 1925; "Patanjali as he reveals himself in the Mahabhasya". ibid. II, 1926; A. Weber: "Das Mahabhasya des Patanjali", *Ind. Stu.* XIII, 1873 (out of date).

(g) Kautilya. F. J. Monahan: *The Early History of Bengal;* Sten Konow: *Kautilya Studies,* Oslo, 1945 (compendious): H. K. Deb: "The Kautiliya Arthasastra on Forms of Government", *Ind. Hist. Q.*, XIV, 1938; Kalidas Nag: "The

Diplomatic Theories of Ancient India and the Arthasastra", *J. Ind. Hist.*, 1926; B. K. Sarkar: "Kautilya, Economic Planning and Climatology", *Ind. Hist. Q.*, XI, 1935; N. N. Law "The Machinery of Administration according to Kautilya", *Ind. Hist. Q.*, V, 1929, VI, 1930. The most massive study, and one of the most penetrating, is B. Breloer: *Kautiliya-Studien*, Bonn, III vols. (I, Das Grundeigentum in Indien; II, Altindisches Privatrecht bei Megasthenes und Kautilya; III, Staatsverwaltung im alten Indien), 1927, 1928, 1934 (and see the discussion between Meyer and Breloer, *Z. Indol*, VII, 1929, on Breloer's second volume). There is much to be lernt from the notes to J. J. Meyer's translation of the *Arthasastra*, Leipzig, 1926.

The greater number of the works cited under §4 and §5 and many others deal with Kautilya. The early articles of H. Jacobi, J. Jolly and others are mainly philological, or concerned with the date of the work: on this point see, as the latest discussions, A. B. Keith: "The Age of the Arthasastra", *B.C. Law Volume*, I, 1945, and Sten Konow: *Kautilya Studies.*

On Megasthenes: O. Stein: *Megasthenes und Kautilya, Vienna*, 1921; "Megasthenes" in Pauly-Wissowa, 1931; see § 2 and § 4 above.

On the Greek sources in general, see the translations and notes of J. W. McCrindle (6 vols., Calcutta or Westminster, 1877-1901), still useful, well summarised by O. Wecker: "Indien," in Pauly-Wissowa, 1916; W. H. Schoff: *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, London, 1912 (valuable).

(h) Smriti. In addition to the works cited under §3, see the translations of the principal texts by G. Buhler, J. Jolly, and others; more recent are the translation of Manu, and of Medhatithi, by Ganganath Jha, 12 vols; that of the *Mitakshara* (and commentaries) by J. R. Charpure (in progress). There are some useful indications among the errors in J. J. Meyer: *Uber das Wesen der altindischen Rechtsschriften*, Leipzig, 1927, and in the interesting introduction to the *Brihaspati Smriti*, ed. by K. V. R. Aiyangar, Baroda, 1941, and in W. Foy: *Die Konigliche Gewalt nach den altindischen Rechtsbuchern*, Leipzig, 1895.

Further worth referring to are B. Bhagwan Das: *The Science of Social Organisation, or the Laws of Manu*, Madras, 1910, 2vols 1932-35; J. J. Meyer: *Gesetzbuch und Purana*, Breslau, 1929; H. Losch: *Die Yajna-valkyasmriti*, Leipzig, 1927.

(i) Kamasastra. H. C. Chakladar: *Social Life in Ancient India*, Studies in Vatsyayana's Kamasutra, Calcutta, 1929;

1942; V. A. Gadgil: "The Village in Sanskrit Literature", *J. Bomb. As. Soc.*, 1927; A. K. Bose: "Agriculture", *Ind. Hist. Q.*, X, 1934; R. Ganguli: "Cultivation in Ancient India", *Ind. Hist. Q.*, VI, 1930: "Cattle and Cattle-Rearing in Ancient India", *Annals Bhand. Inst.*, XII, 1931; "Famine in Ancient India", ibid., XV, 1934; J. Bloch: "La charrue vedique", *Bull. Sch. Or. Stud.*, VIII, 1936; R. Gangopadhyaya: *Some Materials for the Study of Agriculture and Agriculturists in Ancient India*, Serampore, 1932; S. R. Das: "The Early History of Navigation", *Mod. Rev.*, 1933; P. T. Srinivas Iyengar: "Trade of India" *Ind. Hist. Q.*, I, 1925, II, 1926; R. K. Mookerji: *A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity*, London, 1912 (useful); Pran Nath: *Tausch und Gelt in Altindion*, Leipzig-Wien, 1924 (useful); A. K. Sarkar: "The Coins and Weights in Ancient India", *Ind. Hist. C.*, VII, 1931; U. N. Ghoshal: "Slavery in Ancient India", *Calc. Rev.*, 1925; A. N. Bose: "Origin of Slavery", *J. Ind. Hist.*, 1940. On slavery, see B. Breloer: *Kautaliya-Studien*, Bonn, 1928, Vol. II.

§ 7. *Public and Private Life*. Sources are referred to in approximately the order in which we have dealt with the subjects. J. J. Meyer: *Trilogie altindischer Machte und Feste der Vegetation*, Zurich und Leipzig, 1937 (very valuable); P. K. Gode: "Studies in the History of Indian Festivals", *Annals Bhand. Inst.*, XXVI, 1946, *J. Jha Res. Inst.*, III, 1946, *Adyar Bull.*, XI, 1947, B. B. Dutt: *Town Planning in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1925 (useful in spite of some daring guesswork); P. K. Acharya: "Villages and Towns in Ancient India", *B. C. Law Volume*, 1946; A. S. Altekar: *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation*, Benaras, 1938; J. J. Meyer: *Sexual Life in Ancient India*, London, 1930 (based mainly on the Mahabharata); K. C. Shastri: "Requisites of a Sanskrit Poet", *J. Dep. Letters*, XXVI, 1935; M. O. Thomas: "Literature, Learning, Libraries in Ancient India", *J. Annamalai Univ.*, III, 1934; P. K. Acharya: "Fine Arts", *Ind. Hist. Q.*, V. 1929; "The Artist in Ancient India", *J. Or. Res.*, VIII, 1934; V. Raghavan: "Some Sanskrit Texts on Painting", *Ind. Hist. Q.*, IX, 1933; C. Sivaramamurti: "Antiquity and Evolution of Art in India", *J. Or. Res.*, VIII, 1934, IX, 1935 (and other articles by the same author); I. Stchoukine: "Le peinture de l'Inde antique d'apres les temoignages litteraires", *Rev. Arts As.*, IV, 1927; C. Marcel-Dubois: *Les Instrumnets de musique de l'Inde ancienne*, Paris, 1941 (taking the place of the old book of J. Grosset). On literary and artistic questions, see the well-known books on the theatre of S. Levi, A. B. Keith, etc.

H. Luders: *Das Wurfelspiel im alten Indicn,* Berlin, 1907 (a model); P. E. Dumont: "Sur le jeu de des dans l'Inde ancienne", *Bull. Lettres Ac. Belg,* 1922; A. Shastri Pharke: "Sports and Games in Sanskrit Literature", *Princess of Wales Stud.* X, 1938; G. P. Majumdar: "Dress and Other Personal Requisites in Ancient India (Food, Conveyances, Furniture, Health and Hygiene, etc.)", *Ind. Cult.,* I, 1934, and later: G. S. Ghurye: "On Hindu Costume", *Bull. Deccan Coll.,* VIII, 1947; P. K. Gode: "Studies in the History of Indian Cosmetics and Perfumery", *Bhar. Vidya,* VI, 1945, *New Ind. Ant.,* VII, 1945, *J. Univ. Bom.,* XIV, 1945, *J. Jha Res. Inst.,* III, 1946, etc.; S. K. Das: *The Educational System of the Ancient Hindus,* Calcutta, 1930 (the most complete study of the subject); A. S. Altekar: *Education in Ancient India,* Benares, 1934, 2nd ed. 1944; R. K. Mookerji: "Glimpses of Education in Ancient India", *Annals Bhand. Inst.,* XXV, 1944; "Ancient Indian Education" (according to the Smriti), *Malaviya Volume,* 1932, and especially *Ancient Indian Education,* London, 1947 (valuable and individual); R. C. Dikshitar: "Public Opinion in Ancient India", *Kuppuswami Sastri Volume,* 1947.

§8. *Studies* on the Texts or on Series of Texts.

(a) The Veda. H. Zimmer: *Altindisches Leben,* Berlin, 1879 (according to the Samhita; still not superseded); A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith: *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects,* London, 2 vols., 1912 (valuable for the Samhitas and the Brahmanas); U. N. Ghoshal: *A History of Public Life,* I (Vedic Period), Calcutta, n.d. (well informed); S. C. Sarkar: *Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India,* London, 1928; H. C. Joshi: *Recherches sur les conceptions economiques et politiques dans l'Inde ancienne d'apres le Rigveda,* Paris, 1928 (weak); P. C. Basu: *Indo-Aryan Polity,* London, 1925 (Rigveda).

More special works. U. N. Ghoshal: "Kingship in the Rigveda", *Ind. Hist. Q.,* XX, 1944: "Kingship in the Atharvaveda", ibid; V. M. Apte: *Social and Religious Life in the Grihyasutras,* Bombay, 1939; E. J. Rapson (ed): *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. I, 1922.

(b) *Buddhism.* R. Fick: *The Social Organisation in Buddha's Time,* Calcutta, 1920 (still important for caste and occupation); R. N. Mehta: *Pre-Buddhist India,* Bombay, 1939 (very valuable: has drawn upon the Jatakas perhaps more than any other author); B. C. Law: *India as Described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism,* London, 1941; T. W. Rhys Davids: *Buddhist India,* London, 1903, 2nd ed. 1917; C. A.

and on the same subject in *Ashutosh Mookerjee Volume* III, 1922, and elsewhere.

(j) Puranas. See J. J. Meyer, cited under (h). There are facts on social life to be obtained from R. C. Hazara: *Sudies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, Dacca, 1940; and from D. R. Patil. *Cultural History from the Vayu Purana*, Poona, 1946.

(k) Silpa. The works of P. K. Acharya, especially *Indian Architecture according to Manasara Silpasastra*, London, 1927 (revised, 1949) are very valuable. Further may be cited: P. N. Bose: *Principles of Indian Silpasastra*, Lahore, 1926; O. Stein: "Arthasastra und Silpasastra", *Archiv. Or.*, VII, 1935, VIII 1936, X 1938 (excellent). In addition to the general manuals of the history of art, of iconography, etc., see the translation of a passage from the *Vishnudharmottara* (on painting) by A. K. Coomaraswamy, *J. Am. Or. Soc.*, LII, 1932. In a broad sense, the analysis of the *Manasollasa* in the edition in preparation by G. K. Shrigondekar.

(l) Belles-lettres. For the stories, see especially the notes and appendices to the version of the *Kathasaritsagara* by C. H. Tawney and N. M. Penzer, and in particular the introduction to Vol IX, 1928, by Atul Chatterjee. The other works of Tawney concern texts which are far beyond our chronological limits.

For the *Dasakumaracharita*, notes to the translation by J. J. Meyer, Leipzig, 1902; D. C. Sarkar: "Glimpses into Domestic and Social Life...in the Dasakumaracharita", *J. Ind. Hist.*, 1945. For Bana, K. R. Potdar: "Contemporary Life as Revealed in the Works of Bana", *J. Univ. Bombay*, XI, 1942 (concise). For Somadeva (suri), K. K. Handiqui: *Yasastilaka and Indian Culture*, Sholapur, 1949.

For lyrical poetry, general indications are to be found in A. Hillebrandt: *Kalidasa*, Breslau, 1921, and in L. Kretzschmar: *Bhavabhuti, der Dichter des "Dharma"*, Halle, 1936. Further, A. Hussain: *La societe dans le drame sanskrit*, Paris, 1939; R. G. Basak: "Indian Society as depicted in the Mricchakatika", *Ind. Hist. Q.*, V. 1929, and especially W. Ruben: *Kalidasa's Raghuvamsa, der klassische indische Furstenspiegel*, Ankara, 1947. More general and complete: B. S. Upadhyaya: *India in Kalidasa*, Allahabad, 1947.

(m) For the Chinese sources, see the well-known translations and studies by E. Chavannes, S. Beal, T. Watters, etc.

(n) For the inscriptions (and history) see the notes and appendices to the valuable *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilisation*, by D. C. Sircar, Calcutta, I

(only one volume yet appeared), 1942. Also, by the same author: *The Successors of the Satavahana in Lower Deccan,* Calcutta, 1939; also, S. C. Sen: *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal,* Calcutta, 3 parts, 1942. The *Rajatarangini* (monumental translation by Aurel Stein) lies beyond the limits of our period.

The End

LOUIS RENOU

Doctor of Literature ; French Indologist ; born 1896 ; Professor, Letters Faculty of Lyon University, 1925-1928 ; Professor, Ecole des Hautes Etudes since 1929 ; Professor, Faculty of Letters, Sorbonne 1937— ; Member of L'Institut 1946— ; Specialist on Vedic Philology. Visited India in 1949 and delivered at the invitation of the University of Calcutta a course of three lectures on Indian Culture; also lectured in American Universities in 1952 ; at present organizing the French Cultural Institute in Tokyo, Japan (1954).

Publications

Valeur du parfait dans les hymns Vediques 1925, Grammaire sanskrite 1930, Bibliographie Vedique 1931, Etude de mythologie indo-iranienne 1934, Etudes de grammaire sanskrite 1936, Monographies sanskrites 1937, Hymnes et prieres du Veda 1938, Poesie religieuse de l'Inde 1941, Terminologie grammaticale du sanskrite 1942, Edition de la Durghatavritti 1943, Litterature sanskrite 1946, Les Ecoles Vediques 1947, Anthologie sankrite 1947, L'Inde Classique, Vol. I, 1949, Sankrit et Culture 1950, Civilization de l'Inde Ancienne 1950.